

[19th March 1928]

UNSTARRED QUESTION**Civil Justice**

Exemption from attachment of houses and sites occupied by agricultural labourers.

1778 Q.—Swami A. S. SAHAJANANDAM : Will the hon. the Law Member be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that the provision [section 60 (c) of the Civil Procedure Code] exempting the houses and sites occupied by agricultural labourers from attachment and sale is often defeated by what are called pannaial agreements; and

(b) whether the Government propose to take any steps to see that the provisions of section 60 of the Civil Procedure Code are not so defeated?

A.—The Government have not definite information that the practice exists but will make enquiries.

II**COMMUNICATION TO THE COUNCIL.**

The Secretary laid on the table copies^a of the return of officers under the Government of Madras who held permanent, temporary, acting or probationary appointments on the 1st April of each of the years 1924, 1925, 1926 and 1927.

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

III**MOTIONS ON THE BUDGET FOR 1928-29.****DEMAND IX—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION—LEGISLATIVE BODIES.**

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“The Council will now take up Demand No. IX.”

* The hon. Sir NORMAN MARJORIBANKS :—“Mr. President, Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I move

‘for a grant not exceeding 3·17 lakhs under “General Administration—Legislative Bodies”.’”

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“The question is that Government be granted a sum not exceeding 3·17 lakhs under General Administration—Legislative Bodies.”

* Mr. BASHEER AHMAD SAYEED :—“Mr. President, Sir, I move

‘that the grant of Rs. 42,400 be reduced by a sum of Rs. 100.’

“In moving this amendment, Sir, my object is to urge the necessity for immediately placing at the disposal of the Legislative Council all the accommodation in the ground floor of the Secretariat. Sir, I need hardly point out to the hon. Member concerned that there is not enough space for the Legislative Council and the various parties and their office-bearers at present. Even for holding the Select Committee meetings, if more than one Select Committee meeting is held simultaneously, there is not enough space.

19th March 1928] [Mr. Basheer Ahmad Sayeed]

Besides, the greatest difficulty is felt at the time of the election of members of this House to the various committees—Finance, Public Accounts and other committees—and often the Secretary's room is taken up for the purpose and people find a lot of inconvenience on that account. Further, the number of parties in the Council has increased and there are more parties to-day than there are rooms and places allotted for this purpose. The Leaders have become more than their original number and each Leader may require a room for himself and so also the Secretaries and the Whips. Further, the Advocate-General is in great need of a room for himself. I have seen him sitting always in some room or other without having a room for himself. Further, the visitors do not have any special accommodation for them to wait for hon. Members of this House before they are ushered into the various galleries; especially so is the case with lady visitors, who do not find any place to rest in the interval between their coming into the galleries in the Council and their staying out. I therefore urge, Sir, that as soon as may be possible, the whole ground floor of the Secretariat may be vacated and left to the Council for the various necessities that I have pointed out just now."

* The hon. Sir NORMAN MARJORIBANKS :—" Mr. President, Sir, as hon. Members are aware, two wings are being added on to the western side of the Secretariat to enable as large a portion of the ground floor as is practicable to be set apart for the use of the Council. It is hoped that these extensions will be completed shortly and I have no doubt that it will result in a considerable alleviation of the inconveniences which the hon. Member has laid stress on."

* Mr. BASHEER AHMAD SAYEED :—" I do not press my motion, Sir."
The motion was by leave withdrawn.

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—" Sir, I propose

'to reduce the allotment of Rs. 42,400 for pay of establishments by Rs. 100.'

with a view to criticize the present arrangements for improving the acoustics of the House and the necessity for enabling Members to speak from a convenient raised place.

"Sir, when we Members enter this Chamber, we feel a sort of stinking sensation." (Laughter.)

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" Order, order. Before the hon. Member proceeds, I want to know whether the rule of repetition will apply to it or not, because his amendment to the Standing Order suggesting a rostrum from which Members could speak was negatived by the House during the current session."

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—" Sir, I shall not go into the question of the rostrum at all. I will address myself only to the other point."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" What is the other point ?"

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—" I wish to draw attention to the state of acoustics in this House."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The hon. Member will therefore speak only on the first portion."

[19th March 1928]

* **Mr. J. A. SALDANHA** :—" Sir, we fear that however loud we may speak in this House, our voices will be drowned as it were and our troubles increase especially when some Members, particularly on the Treasury Benches, talk so low that most of the Members here cannot hear them, unless, of course, when they are quite indignant and in their indignation they raise their voices high. But, luckily or unluckily, that is rare. I feel sometimes that instead of meeting here, we may meet on the beach. There, I think our voices will be better heard than in this Chamber. Recently arrangements have been made for improving the acoustics of this House, but I think they are very unsatisfactory and a failure. I therefore press on the attention of the Leader of the House and of Government that steps should be taken to provide in this Chamber all the necessary improvements and equip it with instruments so that we shall have no more the trouble, first of all, of our own voices being drowned and difficulty in hearing one another."

* **Mr. ABDUL HAMID KHAN** :—" Mr. President, Sir, this is a matter which should draw the attention of the Member concerned immediately. I say it, because, if there is any section of the audience in this Council that is most affected by the inadequate acoustic arrangements, it is the Press. The Press has suffered much even before these new arrangements were brought into existence—and the voices amplified so as to reach the Press gallery. Especially when Members with low voices speak, even with the new arrangements that have been made, the Press does continue to suffer. I think the seating arrangement in this House is largely responsible for this drawback. I do think that certainly steps will be taken as soon as possible in order to change the arrangements of the seats, so that this difficulty which is experienced not only by the Press but also by the visitors who sit in the galleries and who come here with a view to hear every Member who speaks, may be done away with. I am sure that a great deal of the difficulty experienced by these various classes of people will thus be obviated."

* **The hon. Sir NORMAN MARJORIBANKS** :—" Mr. President, Sir, as the House is aware, this matter has been explored several times and structural alterations were examined and found not to be practicable. The method which is now under experiment is the provision of 'loud-speakers' in different parts of the House. If there is any other practical suggestion that can be put forward, the Government would be only too glad to explore it."

* **Mr. J. A. SALDANHA** :—" Sir, I withdraw the motion."

The motion was, by leave, withdrawn.

* **Mr. BASHEER AHMAD SAYEED** :—" Mr. President, Sir, I move

'that the sum of Rs. 42,400 for pay of establishments be reduced by Rs. 100.'

" My object in doing so is to point out the necessity for the appointment of a special librarian on a salary of Rs. 200 for the growing library of the Legislative Council. I say this, Sir, without prejudice to the claims and the abilities of the present librarian. Since a few years the library has been growing, and we want a librarian who would be able to cater to the needs of the Members from time to time. We want not merely an attender and a librarian who have to do much work, as at present. The librarian is not at present available to all the Members of the Council. Besides, a librarian

19th March 1928]

[Mr. Basheer Ahmad Sayeed]

who has at least a knowledge of all the books, though not their contents, is very essential in order to help the Legislative Council Members who assemble here and who have to resort to the library now and then. I do not want to say much, Sir, on this matter except to express the hope that the Government will realize the necessity for a librarian who will be able to help the Members of the Council, to find out at least the proper places where information on particular things could be obtained, if not himself possessing a knowledge of all the contents of the books in the library."

* The hon. Sir NORMAN MAJORIBANKS :—" Mr. President, Sir, there was some complaint on the ground of lack of sufficient library staff on the last occasion, and an establishment of six additional peons was sanctioned, and at present there is a librarian on Rs. 70—175 scale of pay, an attender and peons. So far, there has been no complaint that the staff is inadequate, nor has the House Committee made any representation on the matter. The Government will be prepared to refer this question to the House Committee and consider any proposals that they may make."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" Does the hon. Member wish to press his motion ? "

* Mr. BASHEER AHMAD SAYEED :—" I do not press it, Sir."

The motion was, by leave, withdrawn.

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—" Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move

' that the allotment of Rs. 1,55,000 for allowances be reduced by Rs. 100' (in order to suggest the payment of halting allowance to Members for a day before and a day after the meeting of the Council).

" In the Legislative Assembly, Sir, halting allowance is paid for three days before and three days after the meeting of the Assembly besides the days on which the Members attend meetings at Delhi or Simla. I propose that in the case of our Council also we should be allowed allowance for an extra day before and after the meeting for this reason : that most of us who have to study papers in connexion with the meeting have to be here a day earlier. On the first day of the meeting we have scarcely time to go home straight from the station and after taking breakfast, to attend the meeting. Moreover, on arriving here after travelling a long distance, we find it very difficult to study the papers either at home or in the library with the necessary books. So, I think I may rightly urge that as in the case of the Assembly we should be allowed halting allowance at least for a day before the meeting. As regards allowance for a day after the meeting, I may say that after the meeting is over, we take actually at least a day more for getting our papers and other things together and preparing the necessary materials for the next meeting ; and we require a day of rest for this purpose. I think this concession should be reasonably allowed to us, especially for the mufassal members who have to travel long distances at great inconvenience. It has also to be borne in mind that many of us have to attend to our own business in our homes and our profession does not allow us much time to study papers at home relating to the Council meeting. It is only after coming here that we can devote some time to the study of those papers. I therefore urge this proposal for the acceptance of all the Members of the House and of the Government."

[19th March 1928]

* The hon. Sir NORMAN MARJORIBANKS:—"Mr. President, Sir, this question, the Government feel, is one for the House to decide. The Government would be glad to have a vote taken on it, so that they may know what the view of this House is. The official Members will not vote."

The motion was put to the House and declared carried. The hon. Mr. Moir demanded a poll which was taken with the following result:—

Ayes.

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| 1. Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai. | 14. Mr. S. Satyamurti. |
| 2. Mr. P. J. Gnanavaram Pillai. | 15. " T. Adinarayana Chetti. |
| 3. " R. Foulkes. | 16. " J. A. Saldanha. |
| 4. " J. Bheemayya. | 17. " G. Harisaravottama Rao. |
| 5. " Kenneth Kay. | 18. Abdul Hamid Khan Sahib Bahadur. |
| 6. " W. O. Wright. | 19. Mr. K. Uppi Sahib. |
| 7. " C. R. T. Congreve. | 20. " C. Ramasomayajulu. |
| 8. Rajkumar S. N. Dorai Raja. | 21. Basheer Ahmad Sayeed Sahib Bahadur. |
| 9. Mr. S. Arpudawami Udayar. | 22. Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao. |
| 10. " Abdul Hye Sahib. | 23. " K. R. Karant. |
| 11. Rao Sahib R. Srinivasan. | 24. " B. Venkataratnam. |
| 12. Syed Tajudin Sahib Bahadur. | 25. Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nayar. |
| 13. Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti. | 26. Mr. T. K. Chidambaramatha Mudaliyar. |

Noes.

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| 1. Mr. V. I. Maniswami Pillai. | 6. Rao Bahadur C. S. Ratnasabapathi Mudaliyar. |
| 2. " W. P. A. Soundarapandia Nadar. | 7. Khadir Mohideen Sahib Bahadur. |
| 3. " C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar. | 8. Rao Bahadur B. Maniswami Nayadu. |
| 4. " P. Bhaktayatsulu Nayadu. | 9. Kumara Raja of Venkatagiri. |
| 5. " B. Ramachandra Reddi. | |

Ayes 26. Noes 9.

The motion was carried.

* Rajkumar S. N. DORAI RAJA:—"Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move

'that the allotment of Rs. 1,55,000 for allowances be reduced by Rs. 100.' (in order to discuss the absence of Swarajist Members from the Legislative Council').

"Sir, I move this motion not with a light heart, but with a very keen sense of my responsibility."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI:—On a point of order, Mr. President. I speak subject to correction, but I am merely submitting this for your consideration. I submit that cut motions—I may preface my submission by saying that we are prepared to face this if you rule that this is in order, but I am merely submitting in the interests of the efficiency and harmonious working in this House—that budget motions are intended to influence or censure the policy or actions of the Executive Government, whether on the Reserved or on the Transferred side. I have a very grave doubt, Sir, whether budget motions can be used for the purpose, by hon. Members, of criticizing the conduct of their own non-official Colleagues in this Council. At that rate, Sir, supposing one hon. Member can give one or two names of Members who have been continually absent for months together—who belong to no party at all—in that case, can a motion be made, Sir, to censure their absence in this House? I am raising the whole point whether budget motions can be used by hon.

19th March 1928]

[Mr. S. Satyamurti]

Members to censure the conduct of their own non-official colleagues when they have no object of censuring or influencing the policy of the Government in one way or the other. I leave this to you for your considered ruling."

* **Rajkumar S. N. DORAI RAJA** :—"Sir, these cut motions are meant to show the disapproval of one section of the House of the conduct of the other section, be it official or otherwise." (Mr. P. Bhaktavatsalu Nayudu : "We don't care for your disapproval.")

The hon. Sir **NORMAN MARJORIBANKS** :—"I am unable to make any useful remarks, because I do not know what line the Mover is going to take in this matter."

* The hon. the **PRESIDENT** :—"All motions on the Budget are intended 11-30 to discuss or criticise the administrative actions of the Government. Any ^{a.m.} criticism to be offered by one member of a party against another section or the members of another party does not come within the strict purview of Budget discussions. But if the hon. Member is able to point out how his motion is ultimately intended to criticise the administration, I shall be able to come to a decision. If the hon. Member fails to convince me that his motion is however remotely connected with the administrative side of the Government, I think I shall not be in a position to admit the motion. The hon. Member will kindly explain how it is connected with the administrative side of Government."

* **Rajkumar S. N. DORAI RAJA** :—"It is connected in this way. We are asked to attend a committee meeting on a motion brought forward by a Swarajist member. After coming here, after wasting a great deal of people's money we are told that a particular Member withdraws and we can go to the Dickens for all he cares. It is only from this administrative point of view that I want to criticise."

At this stage Mr. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar and Mr. S. Arpudaswami Udayar rose up and said that there is another point of order involved in this motion.

* The hon. the **PRESIDENT** :—"If hon. Members wanted to raise any point of order they ought to have raised it earlier. Now since Mr. S. N. Dorai Raja has explained himself, I am in a position to give my ruling. I don't think the hon. Member is in order in discussing this motion."

* **Mr. D. NARAYANA RAJU** :—"Mr. President, Sir, I move

'that the allotment of Rs. 4,000 for supplies and services be reduced by Rs. 100.'

"I wish in this connexion to draw the attention of the Government to the unsatisfactory nature of the G.O. No. 1631 W., dated 29th July 1927, regarding postal concessions to Members of the Council.

"Mr. President, you are aware that hon. Members of this House were enjoying certain privileges with regard to postal rates. Those concessions were subsequently withdrawn by the Government on the ground that the Government of India took objection to that practice. We were told that the objection taken by the Government of India related to one of the rules regarding postal rates. But the Government of India did not take any objection to this Government making any arrangement of their own in giving postal concessions to the hon. Members of this House. This point

[Mr. D. Narayana Raju]

[19th March 1928]

was brought to the notice of the Government previously through questions and in the budget discussion of last year. Government have since published a Government Order on this matter and there it is stated as follows:—

‘The Secretary, Legislative Council, is informed that the Government have considered the several suggestions that have been made in regard to the concessions that should be granted to non-official Members of the Madras Legislative Council in the matter of their correspondence on matters of Government. The Government consider that the needs of the case will be met if, whenever a communication is addressed to a Member to which a reply is required from the addressee, Government or the Secretary, Legislative Council, sends a stamped envelope for his reply along with the communication. The Member will forward his reply to the communication in this stamped envelope.’

“Sir, this provision does not seem to be based on any intelligible principle. The correspondence that hon. Members carry on with the Government relates to duties they have to discharge in the interests of the public. We are entitled to postal concession just as any other public servant. Government say that they will give this concession only when they want a reply from the Members. I submit that any correspondence that they may carry on with the Government or with the Secretary is in discharge of their public duties. Our sending in questions, notices, bills, or amendments to resolutions, etc., are in discharge of our public duties, and therefore postal concessions should be extended to us. There is no practical difficulty in the matter. We may be allowed service stamps and we may be asked to account for them afterwards. Just as any other public servant serving the State is entitled to carry on correspondence at the expense of the Government, so hon. Members of this House should be allowed to carry their correspondence at the expense of the State.”

Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR :—“Mr. President, I too have tabled a motion on this subject and I request that this concession be extended to all Members of this House. I remember, Sir, that on a discussion of this very question last year, the then Law Member gave us an assurance that the matter would be inquired into especially with regard to the supply of stamps.

“Apart from the question of correspondence, I find the Council Library growing larger and larger every day. There are a number of magazines and journals in the library which only hon. Members of this House residing permanently in Madras can adequately make use of. Mufassal Members who attend the Council have only very short time to spare and therefore they can have only a cursory glance. I very often think that the primary intention of the Government and of the responsible officers in charge of these matters is that the library is to be used by all Members of this House. And if this concession is extended to the hon. Members, if we are allowed, certain books may be circulated among the Members. Such an arrangement exists in certain libraries, for example, the Asiatic Society Library and the Connemara Library. I think Government will be well advised in not considering the cost at all in this matter, in view of the fact that the library is for the benefit of the Members and also in view of the fact that by using the books they become conversant with all topics of interest and thus fully equip themselves for the onerous task of discharging their duties in the Council.”

19th March 1928]

* **Mr. T. ADINARAYANA CHETTIYAR** :—" Sir, in supporting this motion, I shall adduce only one or two reasons. In supporting this motion I am not to be understood that Members grudge paying for stamps. What I say is that very often when any matter of interest is brought to their notice they have to wait for a long time till stamps are available to correspond with the Government. But if they could at the very moment write to the Government, the chance of forgetting is removed. I would suggest the idea of supplying Members with service stamps, should the Government raise the objection that postal matters belong to the Central Government and that this Government have nothing to do with it. As regards the Government Order just quoted it was stated that Government would send a stamped envelope for the reply. Very often the Member has occasion to send a reply when the Government think that there is no need for a reply. Therefore, although such a provision exists on paper in the Government Order it is of no practical value. Hence I urge that this concession of sending letters service bearing should be restored or that service postage stamps should be supplied to the Members of this Council."

* **Mr. C. RAMASOMAYAJULU** :—" Mr. President, I am disposed to think that there is an implication in the Government Order which we are entitled to resent. Apparently it gives us a concession; but what it implies is that our legitimate business as Councillors, so far as correspondence with Government is concerned, consists of only responding to communications from Government. I resent that sort of implication and therefore I wish to support this motion. I conceive, Sir, that with reference to our activities several times correspondence with Government as well as with others has to be initiated by us and carried on. That is our legitimate activity and we used to have full concession formerly."

" It is not a matter of money that is really concerned but the implication in the Government Order. Therefore I hope the whole House will vote in favour of Mr. Narayana Raja's motion "

* **Mr. K. V. R. SWAMI** :—" Mr. President, it seems to me that this concession is absolutely necessary. On many occasions we feel it. If we refer to previous resolutions of the meetings and study them, there may not be occasion for so many doubts and so many interpellations and so many mis-statements in the Council. Before we move a resolution or give a cut it will be very essential to Members to know what all happened in the previous sessions of the Council and the Assembly. After coming to the Council we seldom have any time to study even subjects of the utmost importance. In regard to other matters also, it is but proper that this concession should be given to Members so that they may correspond with the various departments regarding various matters. No one will deny the benefit of this concession."

" I do not suppose the Government will oppose this motion. On the other hand, I am sure they will agree to the concession being granted to the Members."

* **Mr. J. A. SALDANHA** :—" Mr. President, Sir, while generally supporting this motion, I should like also to point out the difficulty in issuing service stamps and having a correct account of the stamps used by us. Instead of using service stamps and asking the Member concerned and the Government to keep careful accounts of the stamps used, I would suggest another method which is simpler. The Members will use their own stamps to send their letters

11-45
a.m.

[Mr. J. A. Saldanha]

[19th March 1928]

and packets to the Government. The Government will make arrangements to preserve the cover or the wrapper used by the Member and note down the value of stamps used by the Member and credit it to his account. At the end of each month or six months, as it is convenient, a refund of the amount equal to the value of the stamps used by the Member may be made to him. Perhaps I am one of the Members who trouble the Government with correspondence more than any other Member and I suggest that this method may be adopted instead of issuing service stamps to the Members and necessitating the keeping of strict accounts both by the Members and by the Government.

"I think we are entitled to this concession. Members of Parliament enjoy this concession, though I think the Members of the Assembly have not thought about it. However small the amount may be, I think it is in consonance with the dignity of a Member of this House that he should be allowed the right of free correspondence. The amount will not be on the average more than five or six rupees a month for each Member; but the concession is one which belongs to the dignity of a Member of this House. I do not want that this concession should be extended to our correspondence outside the Secretariat; for it would give too much trouble to the Collectors and other district officers and they cannot be expected to keep an account of the stamps used by the Members. I remember how one officer flatly refused to receive a service bearing letter and returned the packet. I suggest that some device like the one I have suggested may be adopted."

* Mr. G. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO :—"Mr. President, Sir, I am glad that my hon. Friend from West Godavari has tabled this motion. The Government Order is really an insult added to injury. This House had the privilege of free correspondence with the Government and its officials and this was withdrawn for some technical reason pointed out by the Government of India. But it was open to this Government—there is plenty of intellect in this Government, the Finance Member is there—to have preserved this right. The Government Order evidently shows that the Members of this House are mere ornaments and that they have merely to answer to the correspondence at the call of certain Government officials when they choose to make a call. But my conception of the duties of a Member of this House even under this most imperfect constitution is different. I have as great a responsibility in regard to the administration of my district as the administrator himself. People might say that non-co-operation does not mean taking part in administration; but non-co-operation does not mean that the people should not get the best under the present constitution until we get Swaraj. As a Member of the House, it is my bounden duty to study every detail of administration in my constituency and to do all that I can by correspondence with the authorities concerned and by further action in this House. If really an hon. Member of this House takes his duty seriously, I am sure he will find much more work than any Minister on the Treasury Bench may have to do in his office, or any bureaucrat sitting on the Treasury Bench. These have plenty of assistance in the form of Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries and Superintendents down to the village magistrate and karnam. They get the whole information and they have a perfect machinery to work. But an unfortunate Member of this House has to get only such information and through such channels as are available to him. And one of those is the channel of communication with the Government and its officials both in the headquarters and outside. This involves a great deal of postage to the

19th March 1928] [Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rao]

Member concerned. This is a material question, no doubt. In addition, every Member cannot be expected to be always going about for stamps here and there. If the Government consider this House as part of their administration, if they consider the Opposition is entitled to criticize and advise the Government on all matters of administration, it is their duty to provide facilities for the discharge of their duty as Members of this House. I am afraid that this restriction of postage has been imposed in order to put limitations upon the work of the Opposition. I am afraid there is an unconscious feeling that the Opposition is growing and that the Government will be pestered with a large amount of correspondence and the minimum that could be done to avoid such correspondence is to remove this privilege. I do not want to be uncharitable, but I am afraid that this is not a very desirable attitude of the Government. I do take this Government Order as an insult for the simple reason that it puts a premium upon my intelligence and initiative with regard to the correspondence; it makes the Government official my teacher. If the Government say that this was not their intention and that no such thing was at the back of their mind, I am prepared to accept that position—for I know that there is always a great deal of unthinking and unimaginative work carried on by the Treasury Bench. If they have done this in an unthinking and an unimaginative manner, let them correct it and let us have the privileges of the Members of this House revived.

"The hon. Member from South Kanara suggested a system and said that we might use our own stamps for sending letters and packets and that the Government should preserve the covers and the wrappers and credit the value of the stamps used by the Members to the account of the Members once in a month or once in six months. He said that this would avoid the difficulty of accounting for service stamps. But I submit that we should be prepared to receive service stamps and do business in a businesslike manner. I urge upon the Government either to revive the old system of sending letters without stamps or to make proper arrangements with the Postal department or with other authorities to supply us service stamps and make the necessary adjustments. Let them restore the old privilege to the Members of this House."

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"Mr. President, it used to be the practice some time ago to send letters 'Service bearing' and it does not seem to be the practice to-day. It is not only the Members of the Opposition, but also the Members on other sides of the House, that would be better able to do their duty by the grant of this concession. All of us are not rich people who can afford not to take even travelling *allo wance batta*. If this facility is given to the Members, I think the Government will not be troubled with too much of uninformed criticisms; and hon. Members will come prepared to deal with the questions that come before the Council. I therefore urge on the Government the necessity of restoring this old privilege."

* The hon. Sir NORMAN MARJORIBANKS:—"Mr. President, Sir, the practice of sending correspondence by 'Service bearing' obtained for some time till it was pointed out by the Government of India, on a reference made to them, not by this Government but by one of the Governments in Northern India, that it was not a proper use of the rule of the Postal department and that the rule was not intended to be used in that way and

[Sir Norman Marjoribanks]

[19th March 1928]

that they would not permit us to do so. The 'Service bearing' concession is therefore no longer in force as regards Members of the Legislative Councils.

12 noon. "The question is what is to be done now. One suggestion is that service stamps should be supplied. Of course we have to pay for service stamps to the Government of India and it is not a question of opening any account. So far as the Local Government are concerned we have to pay money. If service stamps are supplied to each Member as suggested by Mr. Saldanha, it is necessary that they should keep accounts. He thinks that the trouble of keeping accounts will be irksome. He suggested that the accounts might be kept in the Government offices. On the other hand, another hon. Member points out that in his opinion Members concerned should keep an account. I venture to say that any keeping of accounts will be very troublesome and will give rise to a lot of questions. I should be disposed to suggest that a certain sum should be given to each Member to defray his expenses in this matter. What that sum should be, whether that would be a proper solution, or whether service stamps should be supplied and whether accounts should be kept are matters, I venture to suggest, that must be explored by the House Committee, who may make proposals to the Government as to the best method of meeting the wishes of the Members in this matter. I hope that the House will agree to the House Committee being entrusted with the examination of this matter."

Mr. D. NARAYANA RAJU :—"I beg to withdraw the motion."

The motion was, by leave, withdrawn.

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"Sir, I move

'to reduce the allotment of Rs. 2,30,800 for Legislative Council by Rs. 100 . . .'

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"Will the hon. Member point out how the executive is responsible for the Standing Orders not being perfect and for a committee not being appointed to revise them?"

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"I think you are right in pointing out that difficulty."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"I am glad that the hon. Member agrees with me. The motion is therefore out of order."

* Mr. A. KALESWARA RAO :—"Sir, I move

'to reduce the allotment of Rs. 25,000 for elections for Indian and Provincial Legislatures by Rs. 100.'

"My object is to express the opinion that we should have universal adult suffrage for the elections to the Legislative Councils . . ."

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"Sir, I cannot understand how this point can be discussed in connexion with this grant. This question of adult suffrage has to be decided by the Government of India. It cannot be settled by this Legislative Council. You pointed out one difficulty with regard to my motion. This is another."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"What is past is past. Let us dispose of this matter."

19th March 1928]

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"I think this matter cannot be discussed here."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"Perhaps, the hon. Member not having any other opportunity wants to discuss the matter here and present the case of universal adult suffrage to the executive so that they may make their recommendation to the proper authorities."

* Mr. A. KALESWARA RAO :—"The Indian Legislatures have shown great regard to the interests of women and have granted woman suffrage without any suffrage movement and without beating Ministers and without breaking doors of Legislative Councils, etc. Let Miss Mayo take note of this. I want that the franchise should be given for all and I want that every man or woman who is not insane but who is more than 21 years of age, whether literate or illiterate, without distinction of caste or creed, should possess the power of voting without any property qualification being necessary. I remember, Sir, when Mr. Montagu came to India in connexion with the last constitutional reforms the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee expressed the opinion that it was desirable to have franchise of Rs. 5 annual value of land. If it had been so, the number of voters would have been treble or at least double. By having a high qualification for franchise the upper classes have advantages. The Brahmans and Vaisyas have, I know, more votes in proportion to their numbers. The depressed classes, though they are one-fifth or one-sixth of the population, have very few votes. The Mussalmans also have proportionately much less number of votes. I do not want that either the Brahman or the non-Brahman aristocrats by birth or by wealth or by landed interests should trade in the name of democracy. I want that the power should go to the real masses of the country, to the peasants and labourers of the country. Fear was expressed that if we had universal adult suffrage illiteracy of the masses would be a handicap. No doubt it might be a handicap. But illiteracy cannot be blotted out from India unless we get real power of the purse and the power of adjusting the expenditure of the State. That is my humble opinion. Unless we, representatives of the people, are able to reduce wastage in departments like the Army and spend much more money for universal elementary education, illiteracy cannot be blotted out. I have great faith in the robust common-sense of my countrymen. They can, I am hopeful, exercise their votes properly. I think, Sir, that the larger the number of votes, the purer will be the elections. Opportunities of debauching the electorates will be much less. I therefore think that it will be very good if we have a lower franchise and a larger electorate. The Leaders' Conference that is being held now in Delhi has expressed itself in favour of universal adult suffrage being the basis for the future constitution of Swaraj in this great country. Provided that the elected representatives of the voters have real power with regard to taxation and legislation of the country and provided that the executive is subordinate to the legislature, vote is a real power and I want that all my countrywomen should have the power of the vote and should be real partners in the government of this country. With these few words, I place the proposition before the House."

* Mr. P. C. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—"Mr. President, Sir, I heartily support the cut motion moved by my hon. Friend, Mr. Kaleswara Rao. The present franchise is neither limited nor extended to full democratic extent.

[Mr. P. C. Venkatapati Raju]

[19th March 1928]

Polling is even now done mostly by people who are illiterate for which illiteracy they are not responsible. It is the Government that have kept them illiterate after a rule of 150 years. Therefore, the argument that any extension of the franchise will mean the inclusion of illiterate people does not hold water. Further, persons who are employed for preparing the electoral rolls are very negligent of their real duty. We find that many qualified electors' names are not included in the list. The names of people who are not really voters are included in the list. It may be by mistake ; pseudo names and false names are included in the list. If we have universal adult franchise, it will purify the elections to a great extent. We find designing people manipulating the voters' lists, including all and sundry in places where they get support. People who do not resort to such means are at a great disadvantage. Limiting the franchise to a certain extent and not extending it to universal suffrage has led to many election offences being committed without being detected. There is false personation ; there is bribery ; there is corruption ; there is undue influence since the sphere is limited. It is a pity. It is a scandal in public life that so much temptation is put unfortunately in the way of people who want to get into the Councils by making it easier for them to manipulate the voters' lists by bringing undue influence or pressure over the voters in places where they are amenable. There can be no disadvantage in extending it to adult males and females. It is gratifying to note that equal franchise was given in our Presidency both to men and women from an early date. If we introduce adult franchise, we will be purifying public life and we will be paving the way to real democracy in this country."

12-15
p.m.

Mr. K. MADHAVAN NAYAR :—" Sir, I beg to support the motion. I believe that the salvation of India lies in the masses of this country, and the political consciousness of the masses can be awakened only when you give universal adult suffrage to them. Only then is it possible for the masses to take a real, active and intelligent interest in the political activities of the country. For that reason, more than anything else, universal adult suffrage ought to be introduced at the earliest possible opportunity.

" There are certain other reasons also which prompt me to support this motion. As the previous speaker pointed out, there is a good deal of possibility for corruption in the present system of electioneering, which it is not possible to detect. We must make it impossible for any person to go on exercising undue influence over or giving bribes to the voters in order to secure their votes. Such questionable practice will be impossible if the electorate is large.

" Sir, it may be argued that the introduction of universal adult suffrage will make election campaigns much more difficult than they are now. Sir, this is based upon a fallacy. At present, Sir, candidates who have got an electorate of forty thousand or fifty thousand have to spend enormous amounts of money to canvass votes. Individual canvassing will be impossible if adult suffrage is introduced and it will have to give place to an education propaganda among the electorate which will be much less costly and considerably more effective and useful. Sir, I am of opinion that, so long as the present system continues, it is mostly candidates who have got the influence of birth or wealth or power that can get into the Councils. That ought not to be so. The present system is a pernicious system and it ought to be destroyed and made to give way to another which will enable even a

19th March 1928]

[Mr. K. Madhavan Nayar]

poor man if he is beloved of the people to get into these Councils. This object can be achieved only if universal suffrage is introduced. Sir, I have great pleasure therefore in supporting this motion."

Mr. B. Venkataratnam spoke in Telugu.

* Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR :—" Sir, I think that the arrangement proposed by my friend there is an ideal one. But I do not think that we are in a position to work out that ideal. Sir, I will point out the disadvantages. First of all, this will result in the separate electorates becoming a permanent feature. (Hon. Members : Why, why ?). One of the effects will be that the candidates put up by minority communities will be swept away by the large masses. (Voices : There are other safeguards.) I remember the hon. Member for Vizagapatam telling us about the unsatisfactory nature of the electoral rolls. I, too, admit the evils he complained of. But I think these evils are of a minor character compared with the other evil which he also pointed out, namely, the pressure brought to bear upon electors by men of social standing, especially when they want their voters to give them open votes. These devices are resorted to by very many candidates with the result that the voters are forced to mention the name of the particular candidate to whom they want to vote, in the presence of the officer. Even in cases where the voters can actually read and write, they are forced to say that they cannot sign their names and can give only open votes. Such are the circumstances under which we are working at present. Persons who are aristocrats by birth, or parentage, wealth or possession of landed property will sweep the polls. Sir, even if adult suffrage is introduced, it will be very easy for these people to force the hands of their tenants and servants. Sir, the system that is proposed is an ideal one, one of those ideals which the Provincial Legislatures and the Government should work for ; yet it is not the kind of arrangement that is suited to our present conditions. If at least he made an exception in the case of the minority communities and the depressed classes, there would be some force in his argument. Because at present on account of the insistence of property qualifications, it is only a very small number of the members of the depressed classes who are entitled to vote. If, in their case, and in their case alone, the provision is made, the depressed classes who are in large numbers will be able to influence representation. But to extend this all along the line is, I think, bound to result in confusion. It is too premature to urge this point of adult suffrage."

* Sriman BISWANATH DAS Mahasaya :—" Mr. President, Sir, my hon. Friend has done less than justice to the depressed classes, for he said that the depressed classes will suffer under a system of adult suffrage. I think the depressed classes number about six or seven millions in this presidency. If that is so, they will get far greater representation and their representatives will be far more responsible to them than they are at present, if the adult suffrage is accepted. Sir, I represent, as a member from Ganjam, having many constituents, a large number of the depressed classes. From my experience, I know that they are the people who know best how to vote and whom to vote for. Sir, they have got their caste guilds and these decide and give their decisions, and nothing can persuade or dissuade the voters to adopt any other course of action than the one decided upon. It is therefore an injustice to them, Sir, to say that they do not know how to vote or whom to vote for. This is my experience and I believe it is the experience of many of the hon.

[Sriman Biswanath Das Mahasayo] [19th March 1928]

Members who come from rural constituencies. Of course, I cannot speak for the towns. There the influences may be different. I cannot speak for labour also. But I know in rural constituencies you cannot have a stouter set of voters than these gentlemen who have helped me up in spite of threat, financial inducements and, need I say, assaults in a few cases.

"And then, Sir, he said that separate electorates would be necessary. I do not know why. If you give universal adult suffrage with proportional representation on the basis of population, I do not find any reason why separate representation is necessary, unless you mean that people who play to the tune of Government may find no chance. On the basis of population every community, every minority community, will have its due share of representation, unless any minority or any community wants more representation than it is entitled to, like the Muhammadans in this Presidency. The Muhammadans and Christians have been given at present more representation than they are entitled to. In such a case there will be and there may possibly be a cause for complaint. Because, when the Lucknow Pact was put up, the Government of India put forward very strong objections to its acceptance on the ground that the Muhammadan community get more representation than they are entitled to. For instance, in Madras they have 250 per cent more than they are entitled to.

12-30
p.m.

"So in such cases where minorities have already got adequate representation or more representation than they are entitled to, certainly there may be some objection. But in cases like the depressed classes where at present representation is not adequate nor responsible, I think there adult suffrage is more than anything else what the people require. So my hon. Friend is not speaking on their behalf, on behalf of the depressed classes when he opposes this. As for Christians, I think their representation is more than their number would warrant. (Voice: No, no.) I shall prove it from the despatches of the Government of India. I think this has been referred to in the second or third despatch of the Government of India. I am referring to one of those despatches where it is said that this interest has been given more representation than it is entitled to. There may be some excuse for the members of the depressed classes to oppose the motion. But there is no reason why a learned member of a learned constituency should oppose a very desirable proposal as this. With these words I support the motion."

* Mr. V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—"I would like to associate myself with the motion on the floor of the House. So far as adult suffrage is concerned, it is a welcome thing from the depressed classes point of view. If the Opposition is earnest and businesslike in respect of the uplift of the depressed classes, I am sure they will press this to the very core. As some of the Members of the Opposition said, there is a certain amount of corruption in the present elections that go on. On the basis of that, I do not think it will be advisable to keep the adult suffrage away any longer. My hon. Friend, Mr. Srinivasan, the other day at the Provincial Conference of the Depressed classes held in Madras in January last, clearly said that in recommending several measures to the Parliamentary Commission adult suffrage must be one. (Hear, hear.) But I feel a certain amount of difficulty whether the country has reached that stage to receive adult suffrage. My honest opinion is that universal education must precede adult suffrage. As my hon. Friend, Mr. Arpudasmami Udayar, just stated, there are difficulties in the way. But

19th March 1928] [Mr. V. I. Muniswami Pillai]

adult suffrage must be extended to the depressed classes two or three terms earlier than it is extended to the whole country. It is only then, I think, it will work satisfactorily. What obtains now is that many of the illiterate voters are carried away by many influences by people who seek their suffrage. I did not seek suffrage to this Council through any electorate. But I have got a certain amount of experience in having sought election to the local bodies and I know what the mentality of the illiterate people is. Whatever it may be I welcome this."

* Swami SAHAJANANDAM then spoke in Tamil as follows:—"தற்போது எங்களுக்காக வந்துள்ள பிரதிநிதிகள் எங்கள் சமூகத்திற்கு பொறுப்பாளிகளல்ல. எப்படி முனிசிபல் நாமினேஷனலுக்கு ஊரிலுள்ள பெரிய மனிதர் சிபார்சின்பேரில் டிப்டி கலெக்டர் எழுதுவதே கலெக்டர் வாயிலாக அங்கீகாரம் ஆகிறதோ அதுபோல் சட்டசபை நியமனங்களும் ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள பெரிய மனிதர்கள் சிபார்சின்பேரில் கலெக்டர் எழுதுகிறபடி நியமனமாகிறது. ஆகவே அவர்கள் ஜனங்கள் ஏதேனும் கேட்டால் அதற்கு கட்டுப்படமாட்டேன் என்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் அவர்கள் தங்களை எந்த அதிகாரி நாமினேஷன் செய்தாரோ அந்த அதிகாரிக்கு பொறுப்பாளராகிறார்கள். உதாரணமாக, எங்கள் குடியைக் கெடுக்கிற மதுபான விஷயமாக ஒட்டுகொடுத்துவிட்டுப் போனேன், எங்கள் ஜனங்கள் என்னைத் திட்ட ஆரம்பித்துவிட்டார்கள். யான் எலக்ஷனில் வந்திருந்தால் எங்கள் ஜனங்கள் நன்மையை நாடியிருப்பேன். நியமன அங்கத்தினனாயிருந்தபடியால் எங்கள் சமூகத்தின் அபிப்பிராயத்திற்கு மாறாக அரசாங்கம் தோல்வியடையக்கூடாதென ஒட்டுக் கொடுத்தேன். என்மனம் என்னைச் சடுகிறது.

"எங்களை நியமன அங்கத்தினர்கள் என்று எல்லோரும் பழி தூற்று கிறார்கள். எலக்ஷனில் வந்தால் அந்தப் பழி யொழியும், அன்றியும் எலக்ஷன் வந்தால் மற்றவர்கள் எங்களைத் தழுவுவார்கள்; சர்க்கார் அதிகாரிகளுக்கு தற்போது நாமினேஷனல் நாங்கள் அடிமையாக இருக்கிறோம். இரண்டு மூன்று நாட்களுக்கு முன்னர் ஒருவர் மறுமுறை நாமினேஷன் வரைக்கும் தற்போதுள்ள ஹோம் மெம்பர் களும் கான்பகதூர் ஊஸ்மான் சாகிப் பகதூர் இருப்பாரா என்று கேட்டார். மறுநியமனத்திற்கு இப்பொழுது அடி கோலுகிறார்கள். எலக்ஷனாயிருந்தால் அவர்கள் ஜனங்கள் தயவை நாடுவார்கள். நாங்கள் இந்த சட்டசபையில் எத்தனையோ கேள்விகளும் தீர்மானங்களும் கொண்டுவந்தோம், எதற்கேனும் சரியான பதில் கிடைத்ததா? எந்த தீர்மானமேனும் நிறைவேறி அனுபவத்தில் வரக் கண்டோமா? நாங்கள் எலக்ஷனில் வந்திருந்தால் அதிகாரிகள் எங்கள் குறைகளை உடனுக்குடனே கவனிக்கமாட்டார்களா? எங்களுக்காக ஏற்பட்டிருக்கும் லேபர் டிபார்ட்மென்டின் குறைகளை நினைக்கும்போது வயிற்றெரிகிறது, இரத்தம் கொதிக்கிறது. அது முழுவதும் மிஷனரி டிபார்ட்மென்டாயிருக்கிறது. அதைத் திருத்தவேண்டுமென்று பேசினேன். எலக்ஷன் மெம்பராயிருந்தால் ராவ் சாஹேப் ஆர். சீனிவாசன் அதைக் கண்டித்திருக்கமாட்டார்.

"எங்களுக்குள் அதிக ஓட்டுரிமையிலேயென்று சொல்லலாம். கனம் அற்புதசாமி உடையார் சொல்லியதைப்போல் ஓட்டுக்கு எவ்வளவு

[Swami Sahajanandam]

[19th March 1928]

வரி செலுத்தவேண்டுமோ அதில் மூன்றிலொரு பங்கு எங்களுக்கு வைத்தால் எங்களில் வாக்காளர் பெருகுவார்கள். பணமும் எழைகளின் உழைப்பால் வந்தது. பணக்காரருக்கு எவ்வளவு உரிமை இருக்கிறதோ அது அதனை உண்டாக்கும் எழைகளுக்கும் இருக்கிறது. ஆகையால் முதலாளிக்கும் தொழிலாளிக்கும் ஒட்டுரிமை சமந்தான். இருபது வயதிற்கு மேற்பட்ட எல்லோரையும் வாக்காளராகக் கொள்ளவேண்டும். எலக்ஷனில் வந்தால் உண்மையான பொறுப்பாளர்கள் வருவார்கள். நான் முனிசிபல் எலக்ஷனில் ஒரு அனுபவம் கண்டேன். ஒரு வார்டில் 4 பேர் நின்றக்கால் ஒரு பணக்காரர் மூன்று பேரை வாபீஸ் வாங்கிக்கொள்ளச் செய்து போட்டியின்றியில் வந்து விடுகிறார். அதுபோல் எங்களில் தேர்தலில் நின்றவரே தேர்ந்தவராவார். அல்லது பலர் நின்றாலும் உண்மையான உழைப்பாளி வருவார்.

“எங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய உண்மையான சீர்திருத்தம் தனி-ஒட்டுரிமையும், தனித்தேர்தலுமாம். இது விஷயத்தையே கனம் சைமன் கம்மிஷனிடம் தெரிவித்திருக்கிறேன். வேதாந்தத்தில் எந்த ஒன்றை அறிந்தால் அடைந்தால் எல்லாவற்றையும் அடைந்ததாமோ அது பரம்பொருள். அதுபோல் இந்த சபையில் எங்கள் ஜனத்தொகைக்கேற்றவாறு ஆயிலொரு பங்கு பிரதிநிதித்துவம் கொடுத்தால் நாங்கள் நினைப்பதெல்லாம் அடைந்தவர்களாவோம். எங்கள் விஷயத்தில் நேற்றைய வாதத்தில் காங்கிரஸும் அரசாங்கமும் அனுதாபத்தோடு பேசியது. அது வால்தமாயின் உடனே எங்கள் ஜனத்தொகைக்கேற்றவாறு ஆயிலொருபங்கு பிரதிநிதித்துவம் எலக்ஷனில் வரும்படி செய்ய ஜனப்பிரதிநிதிகளும் அரசாங்கமும் முயற்சிக்குமென்று கருதுகிறேன்.”

Mr. S. Venkayya addressed in Telugu.

12-45
p.m.

* Rao Sahib R. SRINIVASAN :—“Mr. President, Sir, though the depressed classes are illiterate, they are not wanting in intelligence like savages or semi-civilized people. There is an opinion among the educated section of the depressed classes that a separate electorate is necessary. I think a separate electorate with certain modifications as to education and property qualifications with certain safeguards so that the rich and influential communities might not interfere and take advantage of the illiteracy among the depressed classes, would be desirable.”

* Mr. K. V. R. SWAMI :—“Mr. President, Sir, the subject before the Council is a very important one, whether adult franchise should be introduced in this country, how far it would be useful and whether there are any objections to it from the point of view of the depressed classes. Two or three gentlemen of the depressed classes have spoken on it and Mr. Venkayya has given his opinion that the nomination business was very undesirable and that their freedom of vote was very often interfered with. Swami Sahajanandam spoke to the same effect. Mr. Muniswami Pillai said that adult franchise should be granted to them in the first instance and it may be extended to others later on after seeing how it worked. It was very gratifying to me to hear that my friend has proposed the introduction of adult franchise first among the depressed classes. That shows the depth of feeling even among our friends of the depressed classes. But there are some who are afraid of this franchise; for instance, Mr. Siva Raj would not have anything of it. It may have been unfortunate for some individuals to have this franchise introduced

19th March 1928]

[Mr. K. V. R. Swami]

but if really anything good can be done for the good of the depressed classes it can only be done if adult franchise is introduced into that community. There are ten representatives of the depressed classes here and they could not try for a place in the Ministerial Bench because nomination stood in their way. They have also expressed their opinion with regard to the interference of certain Members of the Government. There may be some doubt as to how far this franchise will be used properly by illiterate persons. But I have got considerable experience in these matters which goes to disprove all those misgivings. If we go and ask for votes in the remote villages among the illiterate voters, they say 'What is the good of going to the Council; you have been there for so many years, the Justice party gentlemen were there, the Congressmen were there, what have they done? Whatever resolution you pass, the Government say they won't care for it; then there is an end of the matter; why are you wasting your time in this business.' This is said by persons who are illiterate. That shows how literacy need not be a primary qualification. What is the other test? Paying taxes. Unfortunately in every other country as it is here, the wealth is produced by one class and it is enjoyed by other classes. The real persons who are producing the wealth of the country, have no franchise qualification whatsoever. It is not merely by paying a few rupees of revenue that a man really gets a stake in the country, but even by merely living and by supporting his own existence that he acquires a right to vote. Only idlers may not have any vote at all. My hon. Friend, Mr. Arpudawami Udayar, is afraid that the zamindars and the landholders may sweep away the electorate if they get the universal franchise. The old times have changed. If there are sufficient numbers, undue influence or corruption would be a thing of the past. In the first or second elections, in the zamindari villages, the influence of the zamindars prevailed to a certain extent. But things are different now. The support of a zamindar for a candidate has become a disqualification. They say 'We cannot vote for you because you are supported by the zamindar; and if there is any question between the zamindar and the tenant you would certainly support the zamindar; if you want to do any good to the ryots, why not directly come to us and explain to us what you will do for us'? Such sort of intelligence is now being displayed by illiterate ryots. So, it is very proper and necessary that adult franchise is introduced into this country.

"Another remark made by another hon. Member is that the elections themselves give good education to the people. I very much believe in it. In that manner more propaganda work is done and people are educated in these matters. As time goes on, they will know for what candidate they should vote. So the sooner the adult franchise is introduced the better for the country. It may be commenced at least with the depressed classes because there it is most needed. I find one difference between depressed classes living in cities and those living in rural tracts. The people living in cities belonging to the depressed classes are subject to the influence of the Labour department very much. It is not the case with the people in rural tracts. They display more commonsense than the town people. So the general observation that people in rural areas cannot exercise their franchise properly cannot hold water. Mr. Venkayya's opinion on this matter should carry much weight because he comes from the rural tracts and he has constantly moved among them and he is a propagandist himself. He has

[Mr. K. V. R. Swami]

[19th March 1928]

told us how the depressed classes do not like nomination, because they have realized of that if one goes through the door of nomination he will have to give his vote against his conscience. So I request the hon. Members through you, Mr. President, to vote for this motion."

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"Sir, I had a great prejudice against adult franchise, but after hearing some of the speakers on the subject, and especially my hon. Friends on the other side belonging to the depressed classes, I am glad to find that there has been practical unanimity of opinion in favour of adult franchise. I may point out to my hon. Friend, Mr. Arpudawami Udayar, that illiteracy is not an obstacle towards the grant of universal suffrage. There was a lot of illiteracy prevailing in the Republic of Italy and other parts of Europe in the middle ages. There was practically universal suffrage then in Italy, and they had the intelligence to elect the right men. The difficulty of illiterate voters may be surmounted by means of symbols. I have seen it done in the Bombay Presidency during the elections. The illiterate voter is able to vote from the symbol or the photo of the candidate placed before him in the voting chamber. I have approached a large number of illiterate Christians in the villages—I have visited almost all the villages in my district—and I have observed an amount of intelligence and grasp among the illiterate villagers. They quite understood as to whom they were giving their vote and why the other candidates were not acceptable to them. If I succeeded by an overwhelming majority in the last two elections, it must be on account of my work and not due to any favour or influence. The villagers are shrewd enough to find out what candidate would represent them best.

"The point was raised that we shall not get the proper man if universal franchise were introduced, because the poorer classes would be at the mercy of the landholders. But we should not forget that the landholders of the future will be divided into parties.

1 p.m.

"Even the members of the depressed classes will be divided into parties. There are landlords and higher classes, there will be Congress Party landlords and capitalists, there will be Justice Party and Nationalist Party landlords and capitalists also. Therefore when the time comes for election there will be strife among all classes of people and there will be different candidates and every candidate will be pressing for the few votes of the depressed classes and of the Christian community. So, they will not altogether be at the mercy of one powerful body of zamindars and landlords. This factor should be borne in mind in connexion with the reservation of seats in a joint electorate with adult suffrage. It is urged that in the case of universal adult suffrage a large amount of expenditure much in excess of the present one will be incurred. But I think the lesser the number, the greater the expenditure on a universal ratio. Where you have got a large constituency of several thousands of people we cannot go on bribing the people and as the area is small it will be more convenient. At present, I have got five districts to roam over. If the area is limited there will be only one district and it might even be reduced to taluks, say, two or three taluks. For instance, in South Kanara where there are Muhamadans, Christians and depressed classes there will be 10 or 12 members. If the area is reduced, the expenditure on travelling of a number of

19th March 1928]

[Mr. J. A. Saldanha]

candidates, and a number of agents and canvassers will also be decreased, and personal visits will be lessened as well as the trouble saved of going from man to man and village to village for a small number of votes. When we have got thousands of voters, is it possible to go to every one of them? And the difficulty of influencing people by means of money or drinking will be considerably decreased. In any case my sympathies are with the hon. Members of the depressed classes; and I strongly support this motion."

* Mr. K. R. KARANT:—"Mr. President, Sir, in supporting this motion I wish only to add one rider to it and that is that any adult suffrage without at the same time securing the secrecy of the ballot would do more harm than good. I say this with some experience of municipal elections and taluk board elections and even the Legislative Council elections. I say that even at present in the franchise that obtains a great deal of influence against the wishes of the voters is being exercised on account of this lack of secrecy in the voting and I only wish to say that some method must be devised whereby the secrecy of voting must be ensured. It is very usual to see that every election, whether municipal or local board or legislative, is really not liked by the illiterate voter for the simple reason that he has to give his vote very often against his real desire in the presence of candidates who pull him one way or the other. The consequences are very harmful. The landlords ask the tenants to vote for their candidates and if they do the other way they are sure to get into trouble later on. Troubles of that sort are very common, and I wish that in whatever franchise that may be adopted and more especially in adult franchise secrecy of voting is ensured at all cost."

* The hon. Sir NORMAN MARJORIBANKS:—"Mr. President, Sir, if I do not enter into a disquisition of the advantages and disadvantages of adult franchise, I hope it will not be attributed to an attitude of cynicism on my part or to any feeling of disregard for the opinions of the House. The question of the basis of suffrage is of course a very important one and one that will have to receive the most careful examination when the time comes, as it has almost arrived, for considering further changes in the constitution. I may frankly say that the question has not so far been considered by the Government and therefore it is quite impossible for me to make any statement or to say that Government has this or that opinion on the subject. I can only say that all that has been said to-day, which will be put on the records of the Council, will receive the most careful attention when the time comes for it when we are called on to make any recommendations or state one opinion in the matter."

* Mr. G. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO:—"Mr. President, Sir, capitalism and conservatism are twin brethren—even the capitalism that we the educated classes of this country have acquired by an exclusive interest in a partially developing culture. We are always prepared to find some excuse or other to avoid giving real power to the people. We are told very often that universal education must precede adult franchise. We are sometimes told that if adult franchise should be conceded, the more powerful people in the country, landlords and others, would sweep the ordinary men off their feet and would monopolise the seats. This is arguing in a vicious circle altogether. None can learn swimming until he enters the water and adult franchise with vernacularised administration is, I believe, the very best of solutions for all troubles in this country and is probably the only solution

[Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rao]

[19th March 1928]

for social, political and other problems. The depressed classes and the higher classes will learn to respect one another only when there is the corresponding duties and responsibilities laid on either. After the vote has come into existence in this country the depressed classes are certainly more able to assert themselves than before. It is true that an amount of culture is necessary in order that the Government may make an experiment of universal suffrage. But I contend that if there is not that political awakening in this country necessary in a land where universal suffrage has to be introduced, it is not due to the cultural backwardness of the masses of this country. The alphabet does not make for culture. I am afraid, I make bold to state, most of the graduates who are turned out of the Madras University and other universities of this country are not all of them educated. Some of them are much less educated than the illiterate reddy who are able almost to govern parts of the British Empire. The British exist in this country as rulers but there are sub-rulers who are illiterate, rulers who are capable of wielding power, rulers who are capable of influencing men, rulers who are capable of exercising their own power in their own way. There are people in this country who are competent to discharge any duties that may be entrusted to them. As for the general level of culture also I feel that the Indian citizen is on no less a level than any other citizen of any other country in this world for the education that has been vouchsafed to him. The education in this country is defective not only in the system, not only in the schools, not only in the colleges, but the political education of this country has been reduced to nil. The whole administration is still carried on in the English language and the ryot does not exactly know where he is, in relation to the political situation in the country, not on account of his incapacity, not on account of his inability to know, not on account of any deficiency in his cultural development, but on account of the simple fact that every part of the administration is carried on in a foreign language. If the English citizen were to be under a system of administration like ours, if the English administration were run in the German language or in the Pali language and if the British citizen were given the right to vote, he might not have exercised it very much better than our citizens are exercising their right to vote. I am certain, Sir, that our citizens are exercising their rights to vote much better than the ordinary English citizen does. Therefore, to tell us that something must precede some other thing, that universal education must be a first step if we wanted universal franchise, to tell us there is likelihood of its being misused is all beside the purpose. Is not the franchise misused in England? What is happening in England? There the working classes form the majority of the population. Is there a Working Class Government in England? There is only a Conservative Government in existence. What is that due to? Is that due to the fact that the working class men do not want to govern themselves? Or is that due to the fact that the franchise is used in a manner which brings the Conservative into power by the working classes? There are ever so many currents and under-currents even in the political life of England that make it impossible for the working class man to be the real ruler in the land in which he forms the majority. (A voice : 'What about women.') I do not wonder if women become rulers; it would not be out of practical politics. In this country, I once more reiterate it, the same difficulty may happen. If you grant adult suffrage, there may be some misuse. There may be some trouble and some difficulty. But because there may be some trouble, or some difficulty or misuse, can you deny

1-15
p.m.

19th March 1928]

[Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rao]

us universal suffrage? How long are you going to deny it? How long are you going to put a premium on the free thought of this country? How long are you going to deny the depressed classes the power to think in the freest air of the country? I value this universal adult suffrage not because of the mere power that the vote gets for the people but because of the revolution that it is bound to work in the country, both politically and socially. I am both a political and social revolutionary if a revolutionary I am. Therefore, I feel that if the depressed classes, if, in fact, all the classes of men in this country are given adult franchise, with the knowledge that arises out of vernacularized administration, a better state of things could be brought about. Vernacularization is a necessary concomitant of adult suffrage. If the Government is not going to yield on that point, the Government will be forced to yield. It will not take long. I am sure there is already rebellion in this country as the administration is carried on in English and there is a feeling that vernacularization is necessary”

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ The hon. Member is requested to revert to the universal franchise instead of the vernacularizing of the administration.”

* Mr. G. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO :—“ Yes, Sir. Therefore it will be a necessary concomitant. I was saying that adult suffrage was, to my mind, not merely a political privilege; it is a privilege in the hands of the lowliest that will be useful to bring him on to a line with the others. If the Brahman occupies a position of power to-day, if the super-Brahman, the European, occupies a position of power to-day in this country, it is due to this reason, that both of these people have an advantage over the others in that they are running in the intellectual grooves set to us by the English language. The moment you have adult suffrage in this country, the moment you have the power in the hands of the ordinary man to dictate to you where you shall be, it will be time for him to claim equality with all classes. I am sure the Brahman, the depressed classes, the Muslim and the Christian and all the rest will be on a par—even socially to the extent to which that is achievable in any country—social equality in any country is achievable only to a certain degree—and to achieve that degree, I am certain, adult suffrage will be the only instrument that will be useful.

“ A great deal has been said about minorities and open vote. This matter of open vote can be arranged easily. Voting can be arranged for in the best manner possible. Even if people have to vote openly, they may make mistakes once or twice, but they will not further repeat it. I have knowledge of elections and I have found that where capitalists stood stoutly, where they provided motor-buses and cars, where they begged these ordinary voters to go and vote for their candidates, the voters refused all these conveniences and voted for the poorest man among them. That kind of thing has happened even here and I do not despair of our masses. Our masses are sufficiently intelligent and cultured, including the depressed classes. It is easy for us to work this adult suffrage in this country. Go to the house of the depressed classes in certain developed parts, for instance, in my own place, Nandyal—if you should enter the house of the depressed classes, you will find they are kept much cleaner than some of the houses of high class Brahmans. I am prepared to admit that there is nothing inherently wrong with us. There is nothing inherently defective with us. It is idle to beat about the bush saying, ‘let us have this; let us have that before we get the other’. If only

[Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rao] [19th March 1928]

adult suffrage and vernacularization of the administration had been undertaken twenty years ago, we would have had Swaraj ten years ago. I am sure we would have had ten years of Swaraj by this time. But, I am afraid, the Government will not so easily accede to this request of either adult suffrage or vernacularization of the administration. The only impediment in the way seems to be the capitalistic and conservative tendencies of the Government and its allies."

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"I beg to express my approval of the proposal to have adult franchise. From my experience, Sir, I agree with the hon. Member that our people are not learned. But they are cultured. Often, those that are in the outlying parts of our villages, people who have had no education, I may say without any offence to anybody, are more honest than the educated people (hear, hear). I have known the people—I have passed through nine elections—and I have known more of the illiterate people who have been true to their word, than educated people—of course, there are always exceptions—because the latter could mark their names privately. They do so because they are influenced by forces not always healthy or commendable. But whatever that may be, I am not for the vernacularization of the administration altogether. I may tell Mr. Harisarvottama Rao with the greatest respect when he says that vernacularization of the administration is necessary, that it will only act as a disintegrating force and detrimental to the forces that are bringing us together. For instance, I do not know, but for English, if many of us would be in this Council, from the north, from the south, from Kanara and the West Coast for purposes of talking over common things and exchanging thoughts, and helping one another."

A voice :—"Learn Hindi."

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"I do not know if any number of Tamilians are learning Hindi. But we can learn English easily, while I fear that the Tamilian cannot easily learn Hindi. I do not know how many of the Tamilians among the Swarajists have picked up Hindi."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"I am afraid the debate is going into a side-track."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"It is because he has dragged me to a side-track."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"I have checked him."

Dewan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"Very well, Sir, I was saying that we cannot with advantage have vernacularization of the administration. I do not think it will ever become a matter of practical politics. If, of course, when Hindi becomes the universal language, we may adopt it. But English is here spoken and we can make the best use of it in uniting the people."

"Some friends have put it forward that with the depressed classes people, adult suffrage is not quite easy to attain, although there are in parts people who are fully qualified for that. As a matter of fact, as a result of these elections, this privilege of voting in election has an uplifting effect. The Brahman candidate goes to paracheri and begs of them (the untouchables) to give him their votes. The Brahman is supposed not to enter the paracheri, but he does enter."

A voice :—"He does not. Only his agents enter."

19th March 1928]

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—“ Whatever that may be, they go and ask for the votes. That gives them an uplifting sense of self-respect. I think the Government has conferred a great boon on us all in giving votes to these people.

“ But, as regards a separate electorate, I am not enamoured of it. There may be reservation of seats. I think that all these various things will be considered and that Government would see if the present system cannot be improved and extended.

“ As regards the secrecy of the vote, of course there are advantages and disadvantages. It is much better to have illiterate voters than voters who know how to read and write and deceive. I think that all things would be done in future to prevent the several bad and corrupt practices. I would recommend to the hon. the mover that he need not further press this point.”

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ I think the House is ready for a vote on the question, viz., to reduce the allotment of Rs. 25,000 for elections for Indian and Provincial Legislatures by Rs. 100.”

The motion was put to the House and declared carried.

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ I shall now put the demand to the vote of the House. The question is that Government be granted a sum of Rs. 3·17 minus Rs. 200 under ‘ Demand IX—General Administration—Legislative bodies.’

The question was put to the House and carried and the grant made.

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ The Council will now adjourn and re-assemble at 2-30 p.m.”

After Lunch (2-30 p.m.).

DEMAND X—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION—SECRETARIATS.

* The hon. Sir NORMAN MARJORIBANKS :—“ Mr. President, Sir, I move

‘ that a grant not exceeding Rs. 6·98 lakhs under “ General Administration—Secretariats ” be made ’.”

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ The question is that the Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 6·93 lakhs under ‘ General Administration—Secretariats’.

“ Before Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rao moves his motion,” I wish to know whether it is not covered by the other motion with regard to provincial autonomy made the day before yesterday. This is one of the branches of the bigger problem that was discussed then.”

* Mr. G. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO :—“ It is not the question of provincial autonomy that we are now considering, Sir.”

a The motion standing in the name of Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rao was as below :—

468	To reduce the allotment of Rs. 42,200 for Executive Council by (To record disapproval of the policy of the Government in continuing the existence of an irresponsible Executive.)	rs. 100
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[19th March 1928]

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The Council has considered the question of the whole Cabinet being made responsible."

* Mr. G. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO :—"That is about joint responsibility, Sir."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"Has the hon. the Deputy Leader of the Opposition got anything to say on this? I want to know whether this is not included in the bigger proposition of provincial autonomy which has been voted upon by the Council already. This is only a part and parcel and one of the portions of the question of provincial autonomy, I think."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"Sir, I submit that the question of provincial autonomy is really so large as to involve, besides this, many other questions of the relations of provincial finance, for example, as against central finance, provincial subjects as against central subjects, etc.; but the question as to whether there should be an irresponsible executive here is a part of the question of provincial autonomy, and I submit the House may have an opportunity of discussing it. Secondly, Sir, I submit that the question of the strength of the Executive Council as also of the departments which may be entrusted to the Councillors may be incidentally discussed. On these grounds I submit this motion is not out of order."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"I think the question of provincial autonomy which has been voted upon during the budget on a previous occasion by the Council does cover the question of the responsibility of the executive to the Council, and therefore I rule this motion as out of order."

"The same thing applies to motion No. 469." "

Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR :—"Mr. President, Sir, I move

'for a reduction of the allotment of Rs. 42,200 for Executive Council for Rs. 100' (to discuss the desirability of reducing the strength of the Executive Councillors by one.)

"Sir, this is only a question of economy. I have been studying and watching from outside the work of the Executive Council, and I shall be the very last person to minimise the great responsibility that falls on the Executive Councillors. But apart from this, as a question of policy for establishing a principle and order and uniformity in the whole branch of the administration entrusted to each, I think there is room for economy with regard to the distribution of work. On former occasions, the argument was trotted out that the work which was done by two Executive Councillors has now been divided between four. Sir, before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, it was possible for two Members of the Executive Council to cope with all the work; but since the introduction of the Reforms, I believe the work has increased, and what was done formerly by two can well be done, I think, by three now. So, purely as a question of economy

n 469 Mr. A. KALESWARA RAO,—
Mr. BASHEER AHMAD SAYEED :—

To reduce the allotment of Rs. 42,200 for Executive Council by
(To discuss the abolition of the posts of Executive Councillors
and to transfer all their portfolios to Ministers.)

Rs.
100

19th March 1928] [Mr. S. Arpudaswami Udayar]

and purely as a question of principle which will have to be borne in mind when still further Reforms are introduced or when provincial autonomy is introduced, I place this motion for the consideration of this Council."

* **Mr. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR** :—" Mr. President, Sir, this is not a new question which is brought up before this House for the first time. This question is nearly seven years old. In 1921 this question of the reduction of the number of Executive Councillors was raised by an hon. Member from Coimbatore, Mr. T. A. Ramalinga Chettiyar. He placed before the House various reasons and weighty arguments in favour of the reduction of the number of Executive Councillors from four to three. The then Member in charge of the portfolio on behalf of the Government replied that the question needed further examination, that sufficient time ought to be allowed for examining the question and that before a decision could be arrived at, some interval of time should be allowed to elapse. Again, Sir, this question came up before this House for the second time in the year 1921, about this time last year, when my hon. Friend, Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar, made a speech which will bear any amount of repetition on the floor of this House. On the 19th of March—a year ago almost to a day—this is what he said :

'As a matter of fact, Sir, the motion before the House is only to reduce the number of Councillors from four to two. Even if two are reduced, there are still three Ministers, so that there will be in all three Ministers and two Councillors, altogether five members. This number, five, is quite adequate to dispose of the work which was formerly done by a very much smaller number. I do not want to advance any further argument; practically all the arguments have been advanced by the hon. Member. We have heard this subject discussed over and over again on the floor of this House. I remember that on a former occasion this Council voted that the number should be reduced from four to three. My Friend goes further than that and says that the number should be reduced to two. I agree with that.'

"My hon. Friend, Mr. Krishnan Nayar, was for reducing the number of Executive Councillors from four to two. This motion, Sir, is a modest one and instead of cutting the number down by 50 per cent, it wants the number to be reduced only by one. In previous years, previous to the Reforms, the work was done by two Councillors, and after the introduction of the Reforms we have three Ministers and a fairly large number of Secretaries, Under Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries. It seems to me, Sir, that the time has come when this Government must make up their mind to have the number reduced. Moreover, there is absolutely no justification for retaining these four Members; for, if we turn to section 47 of the Government of India Act, which is of a permissive character, we find that it says :

'The members of a Governor's executive council shall be . . . of such number, not exceeding four, as the Secretary of State in Council directs.'

"Not exceeding four—that is the maximum, and there is no statutory rule which requires that the number should be four and four only. While that is the maximum number, it is open to the Secretary of State to reduce it; and the object of this motion is that this Government should place these facts before the Secretary of State for India in Council and advise him to reduce the number from four to three, if the Government do not make up their mind to recommend a further reduction, viz., from four to two. Anyhow, Sir, it seems to me that this is a matter in which the Local Government should take the initiative. Probably the Leader of the House will come forward with a new theory—novel and extraordinary on the floor of this House—that 'it is not our concern. We are not here to make any recommendation. We are not here to move a muscle; we can afford to do nothing

[Mr. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar] [19th March 1928]

unless our opinion is asked or sought for by the Secretary of State.' For, Sir, in connexion with some other matter, my hon. Friend said: 'This is not a matter within the competence of this Council, nor is it one in which we have any power at all unless invited to make a recommendation.' Invited by whom? Is it by the Secretary of State or by the vote of this House? Therefore, Sir, I appeal to hon. Members to vote in favour of this motion and by means of this motion to request the Government to make the necessary recommendation to the Secretary of State."

2-45
p.m.

* Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—"Mr. President, I want to support this motion. This matter has been referred to again and again and practically this House has declared more than once unanimously that the number of Executive Council Members should be reduced from four to three. This gave rise to an impression in the minds of some that whenever a vacancy arose in the cadre of Executive Councillors this question would be seriously considered by the Government. There have been several vacancies since then and we do not seem to have approached the question any the nearer. It will be very interesting to note whether the Government considered this number four to be necessary even in the recent transfer of portfolios. From what has been done it is very clear that the eminent first three Members will be able to deal with all the reserved subjects. The new fourth Member, apart from the question of personality, has been given only a few subjects and even they not very big ones. And therefore if the number is reduced to three there will be no difficulty for the first three Members who have got experience and in whose capacity we have full confidence to deal with the comparatively unimportant subjects that have been allotted to the fourth Member. I hope, Sir, that this is also a matter which may come up at the time of the revision of the Reforms. So far as the present is concerned, this question is coming up for the consideration of the House for the last seven years as a question of economy apart from the question of reform. Probably a large number of Members of this House and some in the Treasury Bench also may not have been present when that important discussion took place. No one can dispute the fact that by the allotment of portfolios among the seven Members on the Treasury Bench, it has been proved that it is certainly a very large number to deal with the administration of the country, which was carried on some years ago only by two Members and His Excellency the Governor. It is now twenty years since an additional Member was appointed and that was done more for the sake of giving the membership to an Indian rather than to make the administration more efficient. For nearly ten or twelve years these three Members were able, along with His Excellency the Governor, to deal with all questions that came up before them. It must also be remembered then the Cabinet did much more work than that done by the seven Members now. And there were also various other departments that were being managed by this Government which is not the case now, such as, post office, railways, income-tax and some other subjects. Therefore, there is no doubt that the three Members then assisting the Governor were able to deal with the work done by the present seven and also some more. It will be, I think, casting a slur upon the present Members both in the reserved and the transferred sides to say that they are in any way less capable to discharge their duties as Ministers or Members. Further, it seems to me that the present number is unduly large and I don't think Government will say that this number seven is

* 19th March 1928] [Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar]

necessary to deal with the work. Even if they say here that the number ought not to be reduced, I am sure that not one of them thinks so lightly of himself or has got such a low opinion of his colleague that three of them will not be able to do the work of four. I am sure that two of them will be able to do the work of four. In view of the vacancy created, and in view of the hon. Mr. Campbell going on leave soon, there is no reason why the post should be kept vacant till the revision of the Reforms. No one knows what the nature of the Reforms will be in 1929. We expect and a large number of Members of this House expect Swaraj, or at the least provincial autonomy, in which case there will be no Executive Council. It will be a very difficult position we will find ourselves in by filling up the vacancies when they arise and then say here are four Members and we shall have to wait till their tenures of office expire. So that it will be very desirable if Government takes up this question earnestly, which, I hope, will be the unanimous wish of this House, and keep the vacancies unfilled in view of the fact that everybody believes and asserts that there will be some change in the form of administration in 1929. We will be glad to know if the Government can take us into its confidence at least so far as this question is concerned. For the last five years and more the Government have been in correspondence with the Government of India and I do not know whether there is any time limit for divulging to us what has been considered to be secret. This question is more a matter of economy than an actual department of Government. Therefore I would urge this House to pass this resolution and the Government to give effect to it."

* Mr. K. V. R. SWAMI :—"I am very sorry that my hon. Friend moved this resolution. I submit this is not the time for this at all. Because we do not want that the number of Executive Members should be reduced at all. What we want is we want to manage our affairs ourselves. Yesterday Mr. Arpudaswami Udayar said that we want provincial autonomy at least and to-day he moves for the reduction of the number of Executive Councillors. I am sorry to say that his action is very contradictory, unless he means that there should be only three Members until the Reforms are further considered. Perhaps he means that. In this short period why should my Friend be anxious about the reduction of the number of Members by one? Perhaps he wants to avoid having one more Member appointed made of a man whom he does not like (laughter) and thus adding to the trouble. But I think he does not mean that."

Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR :—"May I rise to offer a few words of explanation."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"It does not require any explanation at all" (Laughter.)

Mr. K. V. R. SWAMI :—"If my hon. Friend really meant as a matter of economy, which ought to be the right construction put upon his motion, then he ought to have proposed a reduction by two. In that case one would be European and the other Indian. If, on the other hand, it is reduced by one, there will be two Europeans and one Indian left. Personally I do not care whether it is European or Indian; but it is sometimes advantageous to have Europeans in office than Indians in view of the attitude taken up by the Indians as soon as they take the reins of office (laughter). Sometimes some of the Indian Members say one thing and do another thing and they seem to think they can say anything and everything which Europeans, I am

[Mr. K. V. R. Swami]

[19th March 1928]

sure, will think twice before they do anything of the sort. That has been the attitude of some of the Indian Members. (A voice: Not all.) I do not know what my Friend means. Perhaps he means to refer to the hon. the Home Member. But I would say the attitude taken up by that hon. Member is worse than the attitude taken up by the European Members. When he gets up we see him in anger only, he talks little, if any question is put to him he asks for notice and never is the information asked for given (laughter)."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"Order, order, we are not going into the question of the efficiency of the Members (laughter); the question is whether the number of Members is to be reduced by one."

* Mr. K. V. R. SWAMI:—"I bow to your ruling Sir, and I am sorry the remark of my Friend unfortunately took me away from the right direction. At this time we ought not to ask for any reduction at all. What we should ask for is to have all the offices kept vacant till we get provincial autonomy and then we shall have time to discuss whether we should have seven or six Ministers. I think if the number is more we will have too much competition, communal claims and so on. It is better not to press this motion to a division. At a time like this when we are pressing for further reforms, Swaraj or Self-Government, I am sorry that my hon. Friend should content himself with asking for a small reduction of the number of Members of the Executive by one. People outside might have reason to think that by a reduction in the number we will be satisfied altogether. But that is not our aim. We want the whole thing to be abolished. So I request my hon. Friend Mr. Arpudaswami Udayar not to press this motion."

3 p.m. * Mr. A. KALESWARA RAO:—"Mr. President, Sir, I do not sympathise with the motion at this stage. Though we used to talk of the reduction of the number of Executive Councillors, now we want the abolition of the Executive Council altogether and transfer of all the portfolios to the Ministers responsible to the Council. We are now on the eve of getting further reforms and even the most moderate section of Government sides now expect provincial autonomy and therefore there is no necessity for this motion at all. Before the Reforms three Executive Councillors used to manage the affairs of this province, but now there are four Executive Councillors and three Ministers, thus adding to the cost of the Government. The Reforms have been very costly without bringing any real benefit to the people of this country. That is why we do not want dyarchy and we want a complete transfer of the powers to the Ministers."

* Mr. K. KOTI REDDI:—"Mr. President, it is rather unfortunate that my hon. Friend from Chingleput should not have been in his place to move his motion reducing the number of Executive Councillors to two. That would have been more acceptable to the House than the present motion. But there is really some difficulty for us to vote on the present motion. We are not in favour of the existence of Executive Councillors at all; but granting that, we feel that the reduction of the number by one would result in reducing the strength of the Indian element there. At present the Reserved half does not seem to be influenced by what the Ministry has to say on important questions. They have their own consultations among themselves. I think it is to the interests of this country that the Reserved half should have sufficient number of Indians so as to represent Indian opinion from their own point of view. I do not cast any reflection on the non-Indian

19th March 1928]

[Mr. K. Koti Reddi]

Members of the Reserved half. There are some motions here saying that the Reserved half should be wholly Indian; but to reduce the number by one now would not conduce to the better administration of the country. Some of us find it difficult to vote on this motion. If it is a question of the reduction by two, if it is a question of the reduction of the whole number I agree. But we have been fighting against the existence of the Reserved half itself and since we hope that the time is not far off when the whole Cabinet will be entirely responsible to the Council I think it is not advisable to agree to this motion. I hope the hon. Member will withdraw it."

* Mr. P. BHAKTAVATSULU NAYUDU :—"Mr. President, Sir, I am entirely in agreement with the views already expressed in this connexion. I think four Executive Councillors are unnecessary. It was managed more efficiently and more sympathetically in the pre-reform days with three Members and one Governor. But now the rate-payers' money is being spent unnecessarily without any sympathy or benefit for him. Under the circumstances I should like the strength to be reduced by two or even four but not by one. I have great pleasure in moving my motion to reduce the number of Executive Councillors by two and save the rate-payers' money and give them the benefits which are now denied to them on the plea of want of funds."

* The hon. Sir NORMAN MAJORIBANKS :—"Mr. President, Sir, the question whether there should be any Executive Councillors at all and if so, what number, seems to be one which should be decided with reference to the reformed constitution that is to be adopted after 1929. All that we can do is to take into account, if we are consulted in the matter, what has been said in the House. The question has not been examined by Government yet with reference to the consideration what the future constitution should be, and therefore I am unable to say what views might be taken when the time comes. The opinions expressed by all sides of the House will be considered at the proper time."

The motion was by leave withdrawn.

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"Mr. President, I beg to move

'that the allotment of Rs. 42,200 for Executive Council be reduced by Rs. 100.'

"I wish to urge that Forests may be made a transferred subject and that the other recommendations of the Muddiman Committee (Majority Report) may be given effect to.

"The Majority Report of the Muddiman Committee made several recommendations to which I may briefly draw the attention of the House. The main recommendation was that Forests so far as this Government was concerned should be a transferred subject. They recommended the examination of the question whether Provincial Government presses might not be transferred; joint deliberation between two sides of the Government on all important questions and also joint responsibility of the Ministry. They also recommended relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State as recommended by the Act itself. Without amending the Act itself these things could have been adopted and more powers could have been given to the Ministers."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Member has given a token motion to discuss the transfer of Forests to Ministers; he will therefore not be in order in referring to any other subject."

[19th March 1928]

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"I have also stated, 'To carry out the other recommendations of the Muddiman Committee'."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The expression is too vague."

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"All the recommendations."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"I regret I cannot allow a reference to the other recommendations."

Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"Very well, Sir, I have done with most of the recommendations (Laughter.)"

"If we carry out all the recommendations, our Ministers will not be mere puppets as before. In answer to a question why Forests have not been transferred, I was told that it was a matter for the Government of India or the Secretary of State. Surely this Government should have been consulted before the Muddiman Committee distinctly referred to this Presidency as one of the Presidencies where Forests might be transferred to the control of the Ministers. Unless this Government said that this subject should not be transferred the Government of India would have passed an order transferring the subject. And if there is any department which ought to be transferred to the control of the Ministers it is the Forest Department. It is the most extravagant, most elusive and most mysterious of all the departments. We get very little profit here compared with the other provinces. The reason is not clear. The Chief Conservator is changed from time to time and each of them comes with a new policy for making the department more remunerative, but the profit never comes and year after year we are getting worse. Besides, for some mysterious reason just before the Reforms a number of supernumerary officers were appointed. Whenever I asked a question whether those officers were absorbed or not, the answer was that the matter was under the consideration of the Government."

3-15
p.m.

"This has been under the consideration of the Government for the last three years and yet no reduction has been made in the number of higher appointments. Another reform that has been carried out is that a large number of forests have been transferred to the Revenue Department. The Government promised that they would reduce six Conservators of Forests. Only one has been reduced. That officer has been transferred to some other branch of the Forest Department known as the Regeneration Department. That is an old department which has been existing from a very long time. Regeneration of forests ought to have been the object of the department from the beginning. It was stated that the officer was preparing plans."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"I am afraid that the hon. Member is speaking about the details of the Forest Administration."

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"I am just explaining why the Forest Department should be brought under our control. This is only an illustration. This department is made a preserve for a number of officers."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"I think the hon. Member is giving another illustration. I request the hon. Member not to discuss about the details of the Forest Department."

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"I shall not give any illustration hereafter. The time has come for transferring the Forest Department to our control. We need not wait till we get new Reforms. Let us bring Forests under our

19th March 1928]

[Mr. J. A. Saldanha]

control. We shall see whether we cannot thoroughly bring about reformation of the forests and economics which are absolutely necessary in the interests of the Government of this Province."

* The hon. Sir NORMAN MARJORIBANKS :—" Mr. President, Sir, this is a subject on which this Government cannot do anything. We have no practical power in the direction of making any change."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The question is to reduce the allotment of R. s. 42,20 for Executive Council by Rs. 100."

The motion was put to the House and negatived.

* Mr. A. KALESWARA RAO :—" Mr. President, Sir, I move
'to reduce the allotment of Rs. 42,200 for Executive Council by Rs. 100'.

" My object is to discuss about the neglect of the Provincial Government in not pressing upon the Central Government the need for the formation of a separate Andhra Province. One year has elapsed since this hon. House passed a resolution, in favour of the formation of a separate Andhra province. Possessing a contiguous territory of eleven districts with a population of 1½ crores speaking the same language, possessing great history of the past and great culture and civilization, the Andhra districts and the Andhra people deserve to be formed into a separate province. I do not want to repeat the arguments in favour of the immediate necessity of the formation of the Andhra Province. Redistribution of India on linguistic basis is an acknowledged principle now. Since the time of the famous despatch of Lord Hardinge the Government too have recognized the principle and have been only postponing the execution thereof. There is provision in Montague Chelmsford report itself that in any Legislative Council, if the people and if the representatives of the particular districts speaking a particular language desire that those districts should be formed into a separate province that province should be formed. Not only the representatives of the Telugu speaking districts but also members representing other districts in this House have by a majority passed a resolution in favour of an Andhra province. If any separate province deserves to be formed immediately on a linguistic basis that is the Andhra province because it has got larger area, more people and a greater history of the past than the rest. The wonder is that the Government have taken absolutely no action whatever on the resolution of this House which has been relegated to the waste paper basket practically. The Government have done nothing. They have not carried on the necessary correspondence with the Government of India and the Secretary of State. They have not communicated the wishes of the people of the Andhra districts, of the representatives of the Andhra districts and of this House. They have made no advance in this direction during this year. The recent meeting of the Indian National Congress also has reiterated the principle of the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis and has particularly mentioned that the Andhra districts should be formed into a separate province. The Andhra Province and the Andhra people hope to be happier and more prosperous under a separate province. There will be a Government which will pay undivided attention to the progress and prosperity of the Andhras. There will be many developments of irrigation works and other things. There will be great attempts or the development of resources of various parts of Andhradesa. Education

[Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao]

[19th March 1928]

and administration will be vernacularized. My revered Friend, Mr. Kesava Pillai, has expressed an opinion against the possibility of immediate vernacularization of the administration. With great respect for him I differ from him. Unless we vernacularize the administration”

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ I request the hon. Member to confine his remarks to his accusing the Government for not taking steps for the formation of an Andhra Province instead of opening the question of the vernacularization of the administration.”

* Mr. A. KALESWARA RAO :—“ The Province will be very useful in establishing a government by the people for the people. That is all that I wish to say in that connexion. Of course I do not want, as I said, to dilate more upon the necessity for the formation of the Province. But I want to bring to the notice of this House the conduct of the Government in this matter, how it has neglected our resolutions, not only in this matter but in several matters. They have not paid due attention and respect to the resolutions passed by this House from time to time and this is a glaring instance of that sort. I therefore propose that this cut should be passed by us.”

Mr. P. ANJANEYULU —“ Mr. President, Sir, as one who has given notice of the self-same resolution I have great pleasure in supporting it with all my heart. The cut is given to discuss about the neglect of the Provincial Government in not pressing upon the Central Government the need for the formation of a separate Andhra Province. If we look at section 52 (a) of the Government of India Act it says ‘ the Governor in Council may, after obtaining the expression of opinion from the local Governments and the local Legislature affected, by notification with the consent of His Majesty previously signified by the Secretary of State in Council constitute a new Governor’s province ’ and so on and so forth. It was under this section incumbent upon the Local Government to have addressed the Central Government after a resolution for the formation of a separate Andhra Province was moved, and discussed and even the Leader of the House had expressed his opinion. It is up to this Government to have recorded their opinion and to have taken action thereon. What are the things that stand in the way of a separate Andhra Province being formed? Lord Hardinge to whose despatch reference has already been made—the memorable despatch dated 15th August 1911—said that the settlement of boundaries should be provided and that the administration should satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people. He also said ‘ based upon broad grounds of political and administrative expediency ’. This was so long ago as 1911. Even the year previous to that the people of the Andhradesa in one united voice, young and old, parties belonging to different political persuasions said in emphatic voice that they wanted a separate Andhra Province. As far as the aspirations of the people of the Andhradesa are concerned there can be no mistake. For over a decade and a half they have been year in and year out either in their provincial deliberations, or in their Andhra Conference and even in the national gathering of the Indian National Congress, reiterated the absolute need for a separate Andhra Province outlining that hereafter provinces should be redistributed on linguistic basis. That general proposition was accepted by all parties concerned including this Council also.

“ Sir, the only solitary member of the Government who spoke on this subject when this resolution was moved—I had the honour of moving it

19th March 1928]

[Mr. P. Anjaneyulu]

myself on the 14th of March 1927—was my hon. Friend Sir Norman Marjoribanks. He said—I do not know if he is going to reply now—that the Local Government did not propose to deal with the matter. He said ‘I would, however, indicate one or two considerations that actuate them. One is that this question of dividing provinces on a linguistic basis is hardly one that can be considered only with reference to one province.’ I would ask him from whence he has taken the clue that this Local Government cannot take action when a large section of the Andhra people were clamouring for it. We might cull out from his reply that no action will be taken on this resolution. But, in reply to him, Sir, I might say that even after the Reforms came into force, not only was Delhi constituted into a separate province as was pointed out by my Friend Mr. Kaleswara Rao in his speech last session, but also Burma was constituted into a separate province under this very Act, under Government of India, Home Department, Notification No. 225, Public, dated 10th October 1921. So, this Government or any member thereof need not be under any misapprehension that only when the all-India question arises as to whether provinces should be redistributed or shuffled on a linguistic basis, this question has to be threshed out in all its bearings. Till then this Government need not wait. We have the instances of Delhi and also Burma where under this Act action has already been taken. I dare say we shall not be accused of being clannish and I hope it will not be said that it is only members of the Andhradesa who are pressing this point. Sir, even smaller demands which can very legitimately and easily be satisfied are not being satisfied by this Government under the pretext that it is either a communal question or that it is a party question or that all are not agreed thereupon. Sir, this question is a provincial question and a question that has long been agitating the minds of the people inhabiting the Andhradesa. Even last year, Sir, in Ellore where the Andhra Provincial Committee met, this question was mooted and they unanimously passed a resolution that there should be a separate Andhra Province. Yet, Sir, the way in which the Government have treated the resolution of this Council on the constitution of Andhra into a separate province, after a resolution was carried in this House a year ago by a majority of votes, shows that the Government have neither respect for the House, nor consideration for the sentiments and aspirations of a large section of the people inhabiting such a large area as the Andhradesa. Sir, I am one of those who have been feeling very keenly on this subject. Whatever we may discuss in this House seems to me to be purely academical and not practical or businesslike. Sir, on a unanimous demand for a small thing like the constitution of a separate province, will not this Government do its duty by sending this resolution to the Central Government, especially when in the year 1911 the then Viceroy Lord Hardinge said with solemnity and earnestness that a province would be formed to satisfy the aspirations of the people provided they demand for it. Will not the constitution of a separate province suit the administration of Government, Sir? I would like to have an answer when the hon. the Leader of the House replies. How is it that this Government just at present, instead of supporting and recommending the opinion of this House passed in its resolution has waited for a year and no action has been taken thereon? This is our complaint. I have often said that we in this House very often feel disappointed and unhappy. We feel, and when I make that statement, I say it with the responsibility which any Member of this House can possess that it does neither the Government good nor the Members good

[Mr. P. Anjaneyulu]

[19th March 1928]

nor those whom they represent. We very often go away with the idea—it is a literal grievance with most of us—that we are simply wasting our time in doing no real good either to ourselves or to the constituency. It is this accusation, Sir, which I want to lay at the doors of the Government. With all my earnestness I protest that this Government has discarded and slighted the just aspirations of a people with an ancient culture which is not at all negligible but which has to be encouraged and fostered and often appreciated. With these words, Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting the motion.”

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—“Sir, I have got an affectionate regard for my Friends Messrs. Kaleswara Rao and Anjaneyulu. I have known them for a long time. I therefore hope they will not mistake me when I say that I have always differed from them on this question of carving out of an Andhra Province. (A voice: ‘That is because you are old’.) Sir even in my younger days I opposed this and as President of the Gudivada Conference I said that it would not be conducive to the unity of people who are just trying to understand one another, the Tamils and the Telugus. Sir, we are intertwined. For instance, my Friend, the stalwart over there, Diwan Bahadur Kumaraswami Reddiyar, is a Telugu, and he comes from Tinnevely. There are nearly 3,000,000 Telugus in the south for 300,000 Tamils in the Andhradesa.

“Sir, I would also point out the administrative difficulties and the heavy taxation of the people it would entail. We are now complaining about the top-heaviness of the administration with a Governor, four Executive Councillors and three Ministers. I think my Friend will not be satisfied with a ruler with less than the status of a Governor. There will certainly be the need for a Government House. Then there should be a separate High Court, a separate Board of Revenue, separate administrative heads for each department and court, and offices for all. Who is to pay for all these? Of course, the poor ryots and other tax-payers.

“Sir, I may also tell you that if we pass this resolution, we will be quarrelling afterwards about the headquarters—where the Government House and the Governor should be. We have not yet come to any conclusion about the headquarters for the Andhra University. Some people say that the headquarters should be at Anantapur. But others say that Anantapur is not in the Telugu country; or is just on the border of it. Mr Kaleswara Rao says it should be at Bezwada. Somebody else says it should be at Rajahmundry. (Mr. Koti Reddi: ‘We have no objection to Anantapur.’) (A member:—‘That shows life.’) Yes; but at whose expenes? (Laughter.) These questions that are agitating us can be solved when we have Swaraj. I do not know why we should go imploring the Government to do this or that. If we get Swaraj—we like to get some sort of responsible Government—then we could settle these questions. But why do you ask the bureaucracy? Let us consult one another, have a Round Table Conference and decide it. I should think the Government would welcome the idea of a separate province because more civilians will be employed. I can understand our protesting against the increase of settlement rates or our asking for relief in some direction for the ryots, but I am unable to understand this peroration about an Andhra Province which will only add to the already overburdened ryot of the Andhra Province as well as of the Tamil Province. I speak not on behalf of myself but on behalf of several districts and as

19th March 1928]

[Mr. P. Kesava Pillai]

one interested in the welfare of the province. I am against all disintegrating forces. I do not think my hon. Friend is right in saying that the whole province is unanimous. I know as much as my friends over there the interests of the district where I have served. Apart from that, as a Nationalist, as a Congressman (Laughter)—well I was in the Congress in 1885 before most of you were born—I was Joint Secretary of the Congress—I am interested in working for unification and not disintegration. That is my position and you will kindly excuse me my friends. . . .”

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—“The hon. Member must address the Chair.”

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—“Yes, Sir, I was addressing my friends through the Chair.” (Laughter.)

* Sriman BISWANATH DAS Mahasaya:—“Mr. President, Sir, I am certainly amazed at the speech of my old and revered friend from Anantapur. He is not for linguistic Provinces, he is not for vernacularization and probably he is not for the separation of Judiciary from the Executive. (Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai: ‘Till you get Swaraj.’)

“Sir, while I have a very great regard for him, I would tell him that these are modern times and old ideas of men have to give place to new. When Montagu and Chelmsford went round India, a lot of representation was made to have India divided on the basis of language. Just before that, the late Imperial Council had a lengthy and full dressed discussion on this subject and came to a unanimous conclusion. Sir, Lionel Curtis, that stalwart, put his heart into this very question, prepared and presented a very thoughtful memorandum to the Joint Committee. In that he made a clear and concrete case for the linguistic division of provinces. The Joint Committee’s recommendation is simply based on his recommendation and the weighty representation of Indian public opinion word for word. Government is thus now committed to the principle of linguistic provinces under the Government of India Act. The Madras Legislative Council passed a resolution with a majority of three-fourths Andhra members representing the Andhra districts agreeing with the resolution. These 3-45 p.m. being the circumstances I do not find any reason why no action has yet been taken or why the Madras Government have been sleeping over the matter. The Joint Committee is very clear on this question. It says that where members of a certain linguistic area desire to have a separate province and three-fourths of the people representing the said area desire to have a separate linguistic province a commission of enquiry shall be instituted. But I see nothing has been done on the resolution and in reply to an interpellation Government said, ‘We merely forwarded’ as good boys. I am very sorry that Government should have taken this step-motherly attitude on this very important question which is pregnant with possibilities. If I support the formation of an Andhra Province, Sir, it is because the formation of an Oriya Province is intimately connected with it. Madras is unfortunately the only province in India which has got a conglomeration of languages. It is difficult for the people; it is difficult for the officers of Government and it is difficult for the civilians to know so many languages. Therefore this is the only province which is eminently fitted to be carved into different linguistic provinces. Therefore it is in the fitness of things that any

[Sriman Biswanath Das Mahasayo] [19th March 1928]

Government, which has the interest of better administration at heart, should have this as their aim and goal. On account of this and many other important results that will accrue out of this very wholesome measure I whole-heartedly support the formation of an Andhra Province and I feel sorry that the Government of Madras should have bestowed so little consideration to this important question."

Mr. B. Venkataratnam then addressed the House in Telugu.

* Mr. C. RAMASOMAJULU :—"The issue involved in the resolution before the House seems to be a bit confused to some speakers in the matter. I am referring to the speech of Mr. Kesava Pillai. I wish to point out that his remarks had no bearing to the constitutional question at issue, viz., where by a majority of the House a resolution has been passed recommending the creation of a separate Andhra Province and if according to the Act the Local Government is bound to make a recommendation to the Government of India in the matter whether the Local Government is not bound to make a recommendation in accordance with the resolution of this House. That is the question involved in this motion. Mr. Kesava Pillai seems to understand this motion to mean whether this House is in a position to vote for a separate province or not. This is not the question at issue. The resolution has been passed by a majority that a separate province must be created for the Andhras. The question involved in the present resolution is whether the Local Government is justified in not making a recommendation in accordance with the resolution. Therefore it is on this that I wanted to raise a point of order some time ago. Sir, any discussion about the absolute question of the necessity or desirability of a separate province for the Andhras is irrelevant in discussing this question. Somehow some discussion did go on about that matter. I may remind the House that Government was asked subsequent to the passing of the resolution as to whether any recommendation was forwarded to the Government of India in accordance with the resolution and as Mr. Das said the reply was that they simply forwarded it. Government was further asked whether they made any recommendation as is required by the Government of India Act. Government had no reply to make to that question. The resolution passed in the House voices forth the feelings of the major portion of the province and if such a resolution is treated with scant courtesy by the Local Government which disregarded the resolution by simply forwarding the resolution as an official would do in the case of an application for an appointment which he is not prepared to recommend, Government is guilty of a constitutional error. May I point out also that once the question was sought to be raised in the Council of State and it was pointed out on that occasion that the Provincial Government did not move in the matter and so they could not do anything there. So this Council was moved and a resolution was passed by a large majority. Government must be in a position to say whether they agree to it or not. On the other hand they simply said that they merely forwarded it. This is a matter over which we have been agitating for the last 18 years and we have been passing resolutions on this matter unanimously in every conference. This question of linguistic provinces is a matter which has been considered and recommended by the non-official Members, political bodies and organizations but also by the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme and the authors of the Montagu report. The Government of India Act itself makes provision for this when there is a demand for it. This is a matter

19th March 1928]

[Mr. C. Ramasomayajulu]

on which there can be no difference of opinion and whatever the opinion of the Government may be they must give the proper lead and voice the opinion of the House to the Government of India under section 45 of the Act and bring into existence an Andhra province. With reference to Mr. Kesava Pillai's argument he will excuse me if I point out that this is a matter on which he has reason to be nervous about, viz., the creation of an Andhra province. His district is the only district which is not fully populated by Andhras and in every other portion of the province there is no doubt with reference to the opinion on this question that it is only one-sided."

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"Which portion of the province 4 p.m. has two opinions?"

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Member will not be in order in putting questions to a Member when he is speaking."

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"I am addressing the Chair."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Member is not at all in order."

* Mr. C. RAMASOMAYAJULU :—"There is no other portion of the Andhra province that is against this idea of a separate province. I wanted to point out just when I was interrupted that this question was discussed in the House on a former occasion and there was no Member if I remember aright, from the Andhra province who stood against it. So much so, this opposition from Mr. Kesava Pillai comes too late. I may inform the House that of late a separatist tendency is visible in the Kanarese portion of the population in connexion with the Andhra University matters. They seem to have felt that the Kanarese language is likely to suffer on account of a separate university."

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"May I rise to a point of order?"

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"What is the point of order?"

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"The hon. Member is telling that I am a Kanarese man." (Laughter.)

* Mr. C. RAMASOMAYAJULU :—"I never said so, Sir; I said there was a separatist tendency which is apparent very recently in connexion with the Andhra University matters. I thought those feelings that have been given expression to by my friend might have some connexion with it. I never gave room for the misapprehension entertained by my friend. I have always known him to be a Tamilian domiciled in Andhra. I have known Mr. Kesava Pillai since I was a student. He was an ardent Congressman. I do not know what he is now."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"I am a Congressman, Sir." (Hear, hear.)

* Mr. C. RAMASOMAYAJULU :—"I shall not deal with the merits of the Andhra province question now. I would only point out to the Government this: the Andhras wish to stand by themselves, and this has been made clear in several of the speeches made in this House and they are no longer willing to pull on with other communities. We entertain these feelings not out of any unhealthy sense of jealousy or envy towards the sister communities. It is simply an illustration of the principle of self-realization. The Andhras

[Mr. C. Ramasomayajulu]

[19th March 1928]

are very eager to attain that self-realization which individuals as well as nations are very keen to attain, and this movement has been afoot from a very long time. We think that the creation of a separate Andhra province would enable us to develop our own genius to its full height along the racial characteristics which are peculiarly our own. Therefore I wish to submit we are not prepared to allow the Government to sit folding their hands; on the other hand we are prepared to give all the push necessary to the Government to move in this matter."

* The hon. Sir NORMAN MARJORIBANKS :—"Sir, this resolution was before the House on a previous occasion and was passed, and the report of the debate was forwarded to the Government of India with reference to the provisions of section 52 of the Government of India Act. I understand from the speeches now made that the complaint is this Government did not do more. Until this Government received some intimation from the Central Government that they were prepared to consider the matter, it seems to be a considerable waste of time and energy for us to collect information and statistics and work out the arrangements which preliminary work would be necessary to enable the Government to give an expression of opinion on the subject. As a matter of fact we find from the statements in the public newspapers that this question of the constitution of separate Andhra province is under their consideration, and as soon as our views are asked in the matter, the Government shall have to set about collecting materials and give their opinion. But it seems to me to be premature to do so until we are asked to do it. The views of this Council were forwarded more than a year ago, immediately after the debate in the House on the question."

* Mr. R. NAGAN GOWDA :—"Mr. President, Sir, the suggestion was made that the Kanarese-speaking people that are on the borders of the province may have objection to the formation of an Andhra province. So far as I know, there would be no objection to it, if they will only let the Kanarese people remain out of their province (hear, hear) and if these people who want to fight for the development of their people and their culture would not in any way object to the existence of a sister race (hear, hear) even if it be a small minority, very close to the Andhra area to live and develop their own culture."

"For my part, I think that the development of a province based on the language spoken by the people is a thing which is absolutely essential. In the government of the provinces as they are constituted to-day, it has been made impossible for the people, especially the farmers, merchants, artisans and others in the villages to take part. It is only the young men that get into the educational institutions with a view later on to get into Government service or to become lawyers, it is only these people that can take part in the running of the Government; even as it is constituted since the Reform days. So, Sir, I think to enable those people to take part in the administration of their country, the Government ought to recognize the vernaculars as the medium of their communications and correspondence. The point has been raised by the hon. Member from Anantapur that it would be a very costly thing to form provinces on language basis. I may tell him that if the provinces are based on language basis they will be one-fourth or one-fifth the size of present provinces and therefore the salaries of the highest officials be reduced to that proportion: if they were fixed according to my views I would suggest they be reduced immediately to one-tenth what they are."

19th March 1928] [Mr. R. Nagan Gowda]

(Hear, hear.) If we would employ men trained in the vernaculars of the province to occupy Government posts, without having to go through the difficulty of studying foreign languages, they would work at much lower salaries than they are doing at present.

"I am anxious to support this proposition for this reason, that the Andhra province is so very well cut and so compact that by the formation of this province, there might be an opportunity for other provinces to be also similarly formed."

MR. K. KOTI REDDI :—"Mr. President, Sir, I believe that the discussion of the question whether a separate province for the Andhras should be formed or not is important because on it depends the vote on the present cut. If the opinion expressed in this Council and outside is so strong, is so irresistible, whatever technical reasons may be advanced by the Government in not expressing their own views to the Government of India, it ought to impress upon the Government that the matter is one which could brook no delay. Indeed, the argument advanced by the hon. Member for Anantapur, Mr. Kesava Pillai, seems to be entirely wrong. If, as he says, the existence of a province like Madras is necessary for the unification of the various peoples the same argument holds good for the whole country to be formed into one province. On the other hand, Sir, the benefits that one would derive from the formation of a province based on one language outweigh any disadvantages that may accrue otherwise. My hon. Friend expressed the opinion that there must be a change in the average man's outlook. The time has passed when it was supposed the average man could not take any interest in the administration. The time is fast coming when it is expected that the average man would take a very keen interest in the administration of his country. And it is altogether impossible to expect the average man to take interest in the administration of his country if it is to be run in a foreign language. I will point out some difficulties to which the average man is put to. Only the other day when I was in a village, a ryot came to me with a notice in English to the effect that he would be prosecuted under the Cattle Trespass Act. The notice comes from the Tahsildar who is a Telugu man after all. But for my presence in the village, that ryot would have to go a distance of 15 to 20 miles to find out what exactly that notice meant. A similar instance came to my notice in which a gentleman showed to me a card from his own vakil, who happened to be a Tamilian although he knew Telugu well, to the effect that some appeal was posted to such and such date. That letter was in English language. But for my presence there he would have to walk a long distance before he could get to know what was contained in that card. To the average man, the ryot, the administration in the English language is costing a good deal. It is one direction in which the above mentioned difficulties could be obviated if the provinces are formed on the basis of languages."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"I am afraid the debate is assuming a turn which is quite foreign to the motion now before the House. The administration through vernaculars is not at all pertinent to the debate and therefore I cannot allow any further references to that aspect of the question."

MR. K. KOTI REDDI :—"I bow to your opinion, Sir. So, I want to impress upon the House. . . ."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Member shall have to take another opportunity to impress his ideas on the House."

[19th March 1928]

4-15
p.m.

Mr. K. KOTI REDDI:—"In this connexion I have to tell my hon. Friend from Anantapur, with his undoubted long experience of the people of the Ceded districts, whatever the difficulties may be in the formation of the province, whatever suspicion we may have with regard to friends from the Northern Circars as the headquarters and things of that type, the people from the Ceded districts are not averse to the formation of a separate province for the Andhras. The location of the headquarters either for the university or for the province are matters which, I believe, we can settle among ourselves. But this question ought not to stand in the way of the formation of a province on a linguistic basis. The people coming from the Ceded districts ought not to be against it, as a separate province will benefit even the Ceded districts. Now, Sir, the Andhras ought to form a separate province. I can quote instances where our position would be better in a separate province. If only we had a province of our own, I am pretty sure some of the big schemes like the Tungabhadra and the Kistna projects might have been already taken up. As for the arguments that have been advanced that it would be costly to have a separate province of our own, it is possible it might cost us a bit more money, but I believe the advantages we would derive from the formation of a separate province can outweigh all these things. Even now you find in this province that the area is so large that the heads of departments find it difficult to efficiently manage their departments and are having various numbers of people as personal assistants and deputies. For instance, take the Director of Public Instruction. He has got two or three deputy directors. If the area to be administered by them is limited, I believe there is no necessity to have deputy directors. If there is an Andhra province, you need have only one Director of Public Instruction. It is similar with reference to the other departments."

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"There will be two High Courts."

* Mr. K. KOTI REDDI:—"Yes, there will be two High Courts. It may not be, as my hon. Friend thinks, that the High Court would consist of 12 permanent judges. If we have two High Courts, we don't lose anything except that we have another building. We need not have 12 or 15 judges, but we would be satisfied with five or six judges and there are High Courts with four judges also. So far as the High Court judges are concerned, we need not pay them more than what we are paying now. It is only in connexion with the question of buildings that on a previous occasion I spoke against the spending of about six lakhs of rupees for the new Small Cause Court building, which is absolutely unnecessary if a separate Andhra province is formed. My words were never heeded by the Law Member. I believe it is not too late even now for the Government to mend it if there is a chance of the formation of a new province in which case there will be no necessity of adding to the High Court buildings at present. So far as cost is concerned, except with regard to some more buildings there is not much difficulty. Even then, I believe, for some time to come it is not necessary to spend large amounts of money on buildings. It is just possible to run two provinces with the buildings in Madras. They can serve the purpose for some time to come. So, even on that ground there is no necessity to spend very much more money, and on that score there is no use denying ourselves the pleasure, the privilege or the advantages of having a separate province of our own."

19th March 1928]

* **MR. ABDUL HAMID KHAN** :—" Mr. President, if I rise to speak on this motion I do so in order to add to the contribution that has been made on this most important subject by our Andhra friends from the standpoint of one who may be regarded as coming from the Tamil province. It was said by one of the speakers, and that an Andhra gentleman, that he did not want that this Andhra province should come into existence at this present juncture for he had very many fears in his mind. He himself admitted that he did not belong to the Andhradesa, but was a Tamilian who had lived in Andhradesa for about 45 years. It seems to me that, although he has lived in Andhradesa for 45 years, he has not forgotten that he is a Tamilian. Sir, it is indeed deplorable that this Government should continue to flout the resolutions of this Council persistently. This is a matter which affects a very large population and that a unanimous vote of this House has been flouted by the Government shows that we are still at the mercy of the executive rules as it pleases."

The **RAJA OF RAMNAD** :—" May I ask whether it is a unanimous vote of the House?"

* The hon. the **PRESIDENT** :—" I may tell the hon. Member that this is not the occasion to get any information; nor is the President the channel through whom he is to get his information. The hon. Member can very conveniently refer to the debate."

* **MR. ABDUL HAMID KHAN** :—" Sir, I don't think that any Tamilian would grudge the formation of an Andhra Province (hear, hear) because I have seen during the last year and a half that no Tamilian came forward with any objection against the formation of an Andhra University. The only thing that the Tamilians did was that when they found that their Andhra brothers were fighting for an Andhra University and got one, they thought of establishing a Tamil University even though they knew that the Madras University would serve their purpose. That is the only thing that the Tamilians have done. With regard to the formation of an Andhra province, it is in the interests of the Andhra people who wish to develop their culture, their language and their material condition. It should be our object and the object of such members as do not belong to the Andhradesa to help them to achieve that laudable object. Sir, the other question that comes up in the minds of some of us here when we are asked about the formation of an Andhra province is with regard to the vernacularization of the administration. It is no doubt true that when Andhra people are able to secure a separate Andhra province they will next take up the question of vernacularizing the administration of the province. It is no doubt true that it is necessary and I do not deny the great advantages of carrying on the administration of a province in the vernacular of that province, but there is a similar difficulty as was raised by some Members of this House with regard to Kanarese. The same difficulty remains so far as the Urdu-speaking people of Andhradesa are concerned. I hope and believe that when the Andhra province comes into existence, particular care will be taken to see that the interests of the Urdu-speaking people will not be jeopardised in any manner. Sir, I hope that the Government will not any longer stand in the way of the Andhra people getting Andhradesa separately constituted into a province."

[19th March 1928]

* **MR. C. R. PARTHASARATHI AYYANGAR** :—“ Mr. President, Sir, in connexion with this debate I wish to point out that the formation of a province does not necessarily mean only the constitution of a Governorship or an Executive Council or the creating of several appointments. Apparently the idea with which we have been discussing these things is that there will be a number of appointments, ramifications, High Court judgeships, etc. Now that means as my hon. Friend Mr. Kesava Pillai said that we have to spend more money for things which we ought not to spend in the first instance. Not that I am against the formation of an Andhra province, but that we should not begin at the wrong end, namely, the constitution of the Governor, Executive Council and all that paraphernalia. The way how to do these things is in the villages where you have to spend a lot of money. We ought to earmark a certain amount of money and then to spend it in the villages in the first instance, and reorganize the villages. The villages are the basic foundation on which you will have to build the superstructure of an Andhra province, a Tamil province, a Kanarese province and other provinces in the whole of India. We must get at them, educate them, give them ideas, and there is nothing in the way of putting into practice the ideals to find out local agents in each and every village and to impart culture to them. Now that the Ministers have them they must take the initiative. The villages are the life-blood of any nation. I have been watching, I have been praying, and I have been idealising that our Ministers will supply us the ideals and that they will get hold of men in the villages who will be the bulwark and who will be the persons to do propaganda work in all the villages. Then if you want Andhra province, and if you want Andhra culture, by all means have them. Let our Ministers come forward for the culture. If they do it then they will be doing their business, viz., promotion of that culture which is wanted before thinking of a province.

4-30
p.m.

“ Sir, these things,—the formation of the Andhra, Tamil or Kanarese provinces—are only the means. They are not the end. We do not care very much whether the Andhra province has been constituted or the Tamil province has been constituted or the Kanarese province. We want first that the life of the Indian village should grow free in the villages. Then you can convert them along these channels. Then you will have what you want. You can have universities. You can have Law Courts and Governors. Therefore, let those responsible, concentrate their attention on the villages. Then you can bring forward the various schemes. We want men and women with a lot of enthusiasm, fired by the ideal of doing work in the villages. Then alone you will have what you want. Let our Ministers come forward with schemes. Let them teach us. Let there not be any wavering. I have all friendship for them so far as the Andhra or the other provinces are concerned. But let them find out men, young men and women who are prepared for the work. That is the source from which all progress will spring. We can have any number of provinces as we like but not until we have found out the men can we have the progress.”

* **MR. M. V. GANGADHARA SIVA** :—“ Sir, as one coming from the Ceded districts, representing the depressed classes, I heartily support the cut motion of Messrs. Kaleswara Rao and Anjaneyulu for the formation of a separate Andhra province. The early formation of Andhradesa will tell much upon the depressed classes. Sir, social disabilities are not so much felt in Andhradesa among the depressed classes as in the Tamil districts. They

19th March 1928] [Mr. M. V. Gangadhara Siva]

move just like brethren when compared with Tamil districts. I am sure Sir, there is every possibility of improvement of the Adi-Andhras if a separate Andhra province is formed. I hope the Government will take action in this matter as early as possible. I think this will be a great and memorable event that ever took place in the annals of the British Empire."

* Mr. K. V. R. SWAMI :—“ Mr. President, Sir.—This matter has already been very well thrashed. I only want to say one or two words with regard to what Mr. Kesava Pillai said. It pains me to refer to him. He has got vast experience of this question and he has been living in Andhradesa for over 30 or 40 years. But unfortunately we differ in regard to this matter. Of course, he is pleading for union and for several things like that, but I have to submit to this House that we have been always at a disadvantage by being coupled with the Tamil Nadu. Our grievance has been that every thing is monopolized by the Tamilians in every important matter. Another important thing is that our aims and aspiration and our language and enthusiasm are all different. So far as India is concerned, there are so many provinces which are naturally based on language. There are only a few which are still struggling like the Madras Presidency. The great Lokamanya Tilak welcomed this movement for provinces based on language. Now, this was accepted even by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montague in their Report. They said that even if this resolution was not carried by a majority, consideration should be given to that and steps be taken to have it enquired into and given effect to.

“ My hon. Friend, the Member for Revenue, may, as usual, state : ‘ We have nothing to do with it ; unless the Central Government asks us to prepare statistics, we cannot do it. If they simply direct us to go into the question and prepare everything, we are ready at any time to do it. That has been the attitude of this Government. Then as regards the Central Government, whenever the question arises there, they simply say ‘ This is a provincial matter. If the province is prepared for that, then we will consider. ’ This is the situation. Now my hon. Friend Mr. Kesava Pillai said quite correctly that a separate province means increased expenditure. Of course, that is the one argument that has been levelled against separation of provinces. Bengal was doing that with regard to separation of Behar and Orissa. One argument put forward against separation was that it was expensive. It is true that it is more expensive, but it is expected that the advantages would be more than what would be lost by way of money. The Government would have taken it up as Mr. Kesava Pillai said there would be more jobs for them. Nowadays, they have developed some suspicion for anything that is proposed by us in the Council. Because they think it must be something against themselves. Unless it is for the development of the national spirit and nationality, they seem to think, that we would not have moved it and therefore it must be something which must go against the Government. Otherwise, they would have taken it up much earlier. So whatever may be the feeling of gentlemen like Mr. Kesava Pillai and other Members of this House, they have to respect the feeling of the Andhras in this matter. They are the only persons who have to decide in this matter.

“ As has been put by one hon. Member, the Tamilian brethren have been very kind to us in not opposing this motion at any time. That has been before the public for the last 16 years and prominent members of the

[Mr. K. V. R. Swami]

[19th March 1928]

Tamil Nadu have not opposed this motion, because they know that they want to respect the feeling in Andhradesa in this matter. So far as the Andhra country is concerned, it is not divided against itself at all. It is true that some questions may arise as regards the location of headquarters and things like that and they are natural in a matter like this. We will settle them between ourselves and the thing will proceed. I will only request through you, Mr. President, that my brethren of the Tamil Nadu will show the same consideration this time as they have shown all along in supporting this motion voting for the motion by. We are not moving this motion in the hope that the Government will take it up. We know they will not. It is very kind of Mr. Kesava Pillai to remind us of the coming Swaraj and to wait till that Swaraj is attained. I only hope that my friend would have that faith in Swaraj, which he has had while he was young"

*Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"Even now I have it."

The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member will kindly resume his seat."

*Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"Am I not entitled, Sir, to . . ."

The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"Order, order. The hon. Member will recognize that we are bound by certain rules of debate. The hon. Member will not be in order to get up and answer any reference that is made to him."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI:—"May I beg to point out, Sir, that I"

*The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"I request the hon. Member to resume his seat."

* Mr. K. V. R. SWAMI:—"Sir, I apologize to Mr. Kesava Pillai, if he really thinks that I wanted to hurt his feelings in any way. I only wanted to say that if his enthusiasm for Swaraj was so great as it was when he was young, he would not be sitting on that side. (Hear, hear.) That was my fear, Sir. He was blessing us and advising us to wait until we get Swaraj. I think we will indeed have to wait until we get Swaraj for all these things. But why we are moving these cuts now is to put the Government in the wrong. We know we will have to wait till Swaraj is attained but we want to show to the people that this Government, as long as it exists, will not do anything for the good of the people. They always oppose our aims and aspirations by saying that they have no power or putting other obstacles in the way. Our aim is only to show that we have moved these cuts not in the faith that these things will be done before full Swaraj is attained, but to show the unwillingness of the Government to do good to us."

*The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"I take it that the House is ready for a vote on this question."

"The question is that the allotment of Rs. 42,200 for Executive Council be reduced by Rs. 100."

The motion was put to the House and declared lost,

19th March 1928]

Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rao demanded a poll and the House divided as follows :—

Ayes.

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| 1. Mr. J. Kuppaswami. | 24. Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao. |
| 2. " V. Ramjee Rao | 25. " R. Srinivasa Ayyangar. |
| 3. " Sami Venkateshaham Chetti. | 26. " K. Koti Reddi. |
| 4. " S. Satyamurti. | 27. " L. K. Tulasiram. |
| 5. " C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar. | 28. " K. R. Karant. |
| 6. " T. Adinarayana Chettiyar. | 29. " K. Madhavan Nayar. |
| 7. " P. Anjaneyulu. | 30. " G. Venkatarangam Nayudu. |
| 8. " J. A. Saldanha | 31. " A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar. |
| 9. " P. C. Venkatasaji Raja | 32. Diwan Bahadur R. N. Arogyaswami |
| 10. " C. S. Govindarama Mudaliyar. | Mudaliyar. |
| 11. " G. Harisarvottama Rao. | 33. Mr. R. Nagan Gowda. |
| 12. " C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar. | 34. The Zamindar of Seithur. |
| 13. Abdul Hamid Khan Sahib Bahadur. | 35. Mr. C. R. Parthasarathi Ayyangar. |
| 14. Mr. K. V. R. Swami. | 36. " The Zamindar of Gollapalli. |
| 15. " D. Narayana Raju. | 37. Mr. Chavadi K. Subrahmanya Pillai. |
| 16. Dr. B. S. Mallayya. | 38. " B. Ramachandra Reddi. |
| 17. K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur. | 39. Rao Bahadur C. S. Ratnasabapathi Mada- |
| 18. Mr. C. Marathavanam Pillai. | liyar. |
| 19. " M. Narayana Rao. | 40. Sir A. P. Patro. |
| 20. " C. Ramasomayajulu. | 41. Muhammad Khadir Mohidin Sahib Bahadur. |
| 21. Basheer Ahmad Sayeed Sahib Bahadur. | 42. Rao Bahadur B. Muniswami Nayudu. |
| 22. Mr. P. Bhaktavatsalu Nayudu. | 43. The Zamindar of Mirzapuram. |
| 23. Sriman Biswanath Das Mahasayo. | 44. Mr. A. V. Bhanoji Rao. |

Noes.

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| 1. The hon. Sir Norman Macjoribanks. | 11. Mr. S. H. Slater. |
| 2. " Khan Bahadur Muhammad | 12. " C. B. Cotterell. |
| Usman Sahib Bahadur. | 13. " R. Foulkes. |
| 3. " Mr. T. E. Moir. | 14. Abbas Ali Khan Bahadur. |
| 4. " Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell. | 15. Sir James Simpson. |
| 5. Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai. | 16. Mr. Kenneth Kay. |
| 6. Rao Bahadur C. V. Anantakrishna Ayyar. | 17. " C. R. T. Congreve. |
| 7. Mr. F. B. Evans. | 18. " A. T. Luker. |
| 8. " H. A. Watson. | 19. Rajkumar S. N. Dorai Raja. |
| 9. " G. T. Boag. | 20. The Raja of Ramnad. |
| 10. " A. McG. C. Tampoe. | |

Neutral.

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| 1. The hon. Mr. M. R. Seturatnam Ayyar. | 17. Mr. M. A. Manikkavelu Nayakar. |
| 2. " S. Muthiah Mudaliyar. | 18. " S. Arundaswami Udayar. |
| 3. " Dr. P. Subbarayan. | 19. " K. Ramachandra Padayachi. |
| 4. Mr. C. D. Appavu Chettiyar. | 20. Swami A. S. Sahajanandam. |
| 5. " J. Bheemayya. | 21. Rao Sahib R. Srinivasan. |
| 6. Kai Sahib M. Hampayya. | 22. Tajudin Sahib Bahadur, Sayeed. |
| 7. Mr. V. Ch. John. | 23. The Raja of Panagal. |
| 8. Subadar-Major S. A. Nanjappa Bahadur. | 24. Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nayar. |
| 9. Mr. T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai. | 25. Rao Bahadur S. Ellappa Chettiyar. |
| 10. " K. Krishnan. | 26. Khan Bahadur S. K. Abdul Razaak Sahib |
| 11. " N. Siva Raj. | Bahadur. |
| 12. Rao Sahib L. C. Guruswami. | 27. Diwan Bahadur S. Kumaraswami Reddi- |
| 13. Mr. V. I. Muniswami Pillai. | yar. |
| 14. " W. P. A. Soundarapandia Nadar. | 28. T. M. Moidoo Sahib Bahadur. |
| 15. " S. V. Vanavudaiya Gounder. | 29. Rao Bahadur K. Sitarama Reddi. |
| 16. " S. Venkayya. | |

Ayes 44. Noes 20. Neutral 29.

The motion was carried.

[19th March 1928]

4-45
p.m.

* Mr. BASHEER AHMAD SAYEED :—"Mr. President, Sir, I move
*'that the allotment of Rs. 42,200 for Executive Council be reduced
 by Rs. 100.'*

"The object of the motion is to elicit information from the Member concerned as to the number of superior and inferior posts in the Provincial and Imperial Service in this Presidency, transferred from the voted to the non-voted category since the year 1920 up to date and the reasons for the same and the rules and orders under which they were so transferred.

"Mr. President, I am led to believe that this Provincial Government, ever since the Reforms were granted and soon after they were brought into force, have been carrying on systematically an undermining campaign, by which I mean, they have been trying to transfer as many posts, small or big, from the voted category to the non-voted category, obviously with a view to keep these offices outside the control or the vote of this Council. I say, Sir, that this attempt of the Government has been very sinister and that it has been carried on against the wishes and against the knowledge of the people or of the representatives of the people in this House. Even a post like the Law College Principalship, when the late Principal Mr. Arthur Davis was there, was sought to be converted into a non-voted post. I do not know, Sir, why the Government have acted against the spirit of the reforms, viz., giving more responsibility to the people of this country. Sir, it is not unknown to the Members of this House that when the declaration of 1917 was made, the idea was that the Government should be transferred to the people of this country by slow and progressive stages, though the Congress Party, as such, did not and will never, subscribe to that policy of the Government of Great Britain. Yet, the Provincial Government, the representatives of the Government, the powers that be, have from time to time converted many of the voted posts into non-voted. Is that the way in which the Government want the Members of this House or the people of this country to co-operate with them in the administration of this country? Instead of converting more and more posts of the non-voted category into voted posts, the Government seem to have been working the other way. I want to know, Sir,—I have no definite knowledge, it is only a matter of belief—I want the Government to let the councillors as people responsible to our electorates, to our constituencies, and as sharing a good deal of the burden of the administration of this country much against our will, much as we are against the system of Government—I want the Government to take them into confidence and let them know how many posts they have converted from voted into non-voted, under what rules, under whose advice and for what reasons. The Government ought to have, before they actually converted the posts from voted into non-voted, come to this House for a vote or for opinion and placed the matter before us. They have done, I am led to believe, a lot of things behind the back of this House which they themselves profess to be a responsible House. I do not know, Sir, whether Ministers are aware of this action of the Government of transferring all the voted posts to the non-voted category. I do not know how many posts under the control of the Ministers themselves and under their nose have been transferred in this manner. I do not know what they have done, whether they have at any time raised a little finger of protest against such attempts on the part of the Government, especially when things are done behind their back, or whether such things were done with the

19th March 1928]

[Mr. Basheer Ahmad Sayeed]

consent of the Ministers. Sir, it is but fair, just and reasonable that the Government should at least have taken the previous consent of this House for such changes or at least intimated to us from time to time what posts have been converted from the voted to the non-voted category. They have not done even that, and yet they say that their policy is to give increasing responsibility to the people of this country and to the representatives of the people in this House. I want the Government, Sir, to give us no camouflaged answers but to give us direct answers, to quote chapter and verse and the circumstances under which they took or were compelled to take steps to convert voted into non-voted posts, to give us a complete list and nature of the posts so converted ever since 1920 and also to mention the specific reasons which led them to do so. If it was for the purpose of keeping these posts outside the control of this House, it is not creditable in the least for the Government that professes to be a popular Government to have done so; but if it was not for that purpose, it is now up to them to come forward and tell us the reasons which led them to do that. Then we shall know how to handle them. So, Sir, I make this motion."

* The hon. Sir NORMAN MANJORIBANKS:—"Mr. President, Sir, the hon. Members of this House are aware that this subject is of a very technical nature, and I will try to be as clear as I can. Under section 72-D (3) (iv) (a) of the Government of India Act, salaries and pensions payable to or to the dependants of persons appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State in Council are not subject to the vote of the Council. In February 1921, this rule was interpreted to mean that everything which required the sanction of the Secretary of State should be treated as 'non-voted'. In May 1922, the Auditor-General issued audit instruction which interpreted the above clause in the following manner:—

(1) All appointments made in England prior to the date of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, should be treated as having been actually made by the Secretary of State in Council.

(2) As regards appointments made from the date of the coming into force of the Government of India Act (17th December 1920) it was ruled that only appointments which were definitely made by the Secretary of State in Council should be treated as "non-voted". Appointments made by the Secretary of State in Council or by the High Commissioners as agents of the Local Government should be treated as "voted".

"As a result of this instruction about ten appointments were transferred from 'voted' to 'non-voted' as the appointments have been made in England prior to the date of the passing of the Government of India Act. On the other hand, several appointments were also transferred for 'non-voted' to 'voted', because they had been made after the coming into force of the Government of India Act and had not been made specifically by the Secretary of State in Council. The number of such appointments was 28.

"In 1925 the Secretary of State in Council appointed to the All-India Services such as Forests, Police, Engineering, certain officers who had been previously promoted by the Local Government or the Government of India from the corresponding Provincial services to the All-India Services. By their appointment to the All-India Services by the Secretary of State in Council, the posts subsequently came under clause (iv) of section 72-D (3) of the Government of India Act and their pay was consequently treated as 'non-voted' in the budget estimates for 1926-27."

[19th March 1928]

Mr. BASHEER AHMAD SAYEED :—" May I know, Sir, what the document

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The hon. Member will kindly resume his seat."

* The hon. Sir NORMAN MARJORIBANKS :—" The number of such appointments transferred from ' Voted ' to ' Non-voted ' was about 40.

" According to the Amendment to the Government of India (Civil Services) Act, 1925, the salaries and pensions payable to or to the dependants of persons appointed before the first day of April 1924 by the Government of India or by a Local Government to services or posts classified by rules under the Act as superior services or posts also became non-votable. With reference to this, the Secretary of State has so far declared 14 appointments to be of superior status. Their pay has accordingly been treated as ' Non-voted ' in the budget estimates for 1928-29. These, Sir, are the main changes that have been made."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" Mr. Basheer Ahmad wanted to say something. May I know what it is ? "

* Mr. BASHEER AHMAD SAYEED :—" I wanted to know, Sir, what the document was from which the hon. Member was reading, and to request him to leave it or a copy of it, if possible, on the table of this House."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I am afraid the hon. Member has not carefully followed the hon. the Leader of the House. When he opened his speech, he clearly stated that it was a technical subject, and therefore he proposed to refer to the notes which he had made."

Mr. BASHEER AHMAD SAYEED :—" I am sorry, Sir ; he is so inaudible."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I take it that the House is ready for a vote on this question. (After a pause.)

" The question is to reduce the allotment of Rs. 42,200 for Executive Council by Rs. 100."

The motion was put to the House and lost.

* Mr. BASHEER AHMAD SAYEED :—" Mr. President, Sir, I move

' that the allotment of Rs. 42,200 for Executive Council be omitted.'
(with a view to raise the question of the nature of the correspondence between the Local Government and the Government of India on Bills submitted by non-official members for previous sanction of the Governor-General before introduction.)

" Sir, the question referred to in this paragraph which I have just now read has a history of its own. It has been allowed by the rules of the Council and also by the Devolution Rules that members are at liberty to move amendments or amending Bills with regard to Acts which are of an imperial nature, or new Bills on central subjects with the previous sanction of the Governor-General. So, Non-official Members of this Council submit Bills for the previous sanction of the Governor-General through the Local Government. The Local Government refer them to the Governor-General and receive answers; but they give the non-official members a very bare and cut and dry answer that ' His Excellency the Governor-General regrets he cannot give leave to

19th March 1928] [Mr. Basheer Ahmad Sayeed]

introduce this measure.' When Non-official Members ask for the reasons Sir, the Local Government do not give us the reasons why His Excellency the Governor-General feels it inconvenient to give leave for the introduction of those measures. I have asked the ex-Law Member, Sir, as to the reasons why the Viceroy does not give me leave to introduce a Probation of Offenders Bill, and I was told that they were confidential. I want to impress upon this House, Sir, that the correspondence in connection with the Non-official Bills between the Local Government and the Imperial Government ought not to be confidential, at least so far as the Member who gives notice of the Bill is concerned, nor should the reasons of the Governor-General be kept beyond the knowledge of the Member."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"It being 5 o'clock now, I shall put the demand to the vote of the House.

"The question is that Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 6'98 lakhs minus Rs. 100, under 'Demand X—General Administration—Secretariats.'"

The question was adopted and the grant was made.

The Council then adjourned to meet again at 11 o'clock the next day.

R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR,
Secretary to the Legislative Council.

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TRUTH ALONE TRIUMPHS